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MIRACLES AND HISTORY.

The remark is frequently made that miracles were formerly a means or weapon of apologetics, but have now become an object of defense. Once an aid to faith, miracles are now regarded by many as a burden, and as some would have it a burden too grievous to be borne. As the work of Paul was to throw off the yoke of legalism, and the task of Luther was to break the bands of sacerdotalism, so, it is assumed, the duty of the present age is to complete the work of emancipation, and to free religion from the twofold yoke of miracle and dogma.

Whatever other aspects the question of miracle may have it is primarily an historical question. Back of such considerations as the possibility or credibility of miracles, or their value as an evidence for the truth of Christianity, lies the more important question, Did the miracles recorded in the New Testament really happen? The perennial interest in the discussion is no doubt due to its inseparable connection with central and cherished beliefs in philosophy and religion, but it is this connection which makes the task of the historian peculiarly difficult. Absolute impartiality in investigating the evidence would be the ideal condition for the historian, but the historical student, as a man of like passions with other men, cannot but be influenced, in considering a question with so intimate philosophical and religious bearings, by the dominant thought of his time.

In proportion, for example, as current opinion in other departments of thought is adverse to belief in miracles, the evidence which the historian will require, as a basis for belief in their actual occurrence, will be stronger and more convincing. Now, as formerly, the objections against miracle are reducible to two, the scientific and the religious; and a brief review of the general situation in scientific and religious thought to-day may not be amiss as we approach the historical problem.

As the range of scientific investigation has widened, the postulate of the reign of law has hardened into an axiom, and the admission of any breach or interruption of natural law has become increasingly difficult. It could be believed even in the days of Leibnitz that angelic beings were harnessed to the planets and conducted them through their orbits, but it has become a commonplace of science that the same physical and chemical laws will explain all the motions of matter throughout the whole material universe. The progress of science, however, cannot be said to be unfriendly to those spiritual convictions which a belief in miracle presupposes. Materialism of the cruder sort has to-day very little scientific standing; modern inventions such as wireless telegraphy, no less than the familiar operations of nature, yield their parable to the preacher; and the deeper study of science in men like Lord Kelvin and Sir Oliver Lodge does not quench but rather kindles faith in spiritual realities. Modern psychology, whether or not to the ultimate advantage of faith in miracles, has emphasized the powers of personality, and thereby in part made the Gospel narratives easier to believe; while the progress of invention has repeatedly pushed back the limits assigned by scientists themselves to what was possible, and research in many branches of science has given new force to the old maxim, *Omnia exeunt in mysterium*. As Prof. J. J. Thomson has recently said: "The sum of knowledge is at present, at any rate, a diverging not a converging series. As we conquer peak after peak we see in front of us regions full of

interest and beauty, but we do not see our goal, we do not see the horizon; in the distance tower still higher peaks, which will yield to those who ascend them still wider prospects, and deepen the feeling, whose truth is emphasized by every advance in science, that 'Great are the Works of the Lord.' ”¹

It may be thought, once more, that the advancement of science has done a kind of negative service to miracles by making them, as exceptions to laws universally operative in time and space, harder to believe. If they are still accepted, upon grounds regarded as rational and evidence regarded as sufficient, they acquire a greater significance. Where natural events were thought to be due to the volition of various deities, a miracle or portent might have only a local or temporary significance; but in the light of science no form of polytheism is possible to-day. Monotheism is a corollary in religion of the unity of the physical universe, and a dispensation of miracles, if believed in to-day, must somehow be related to the cosmic order. The progress of knowledge has taught us the lesson of "one God, one law"; and miracles, if we can believe them to-day, must relate themselves to the "one far-off, divine event, to which the whole creation moves."

The tendencies of religious thought have not of late been specially favorable to faith in miracle. Literary criticism as applied to the Old and New Testaments has tended, in part, to discredit the supernatural in general and the miraculous in particular. The four Gospels which contain the record of the miracles of Jesus were once regarded as themselves supernatural in origin and character—"a house not made with hands" (Robertson Nicoll), "a miracle of the Holy Ghost" (Stier). By many critics to-day, on the contrary, they are regarded as a patchwork of traditions rather clumsily put together by

¹ At the close of his President's address before the British Association for the Advancement of Science, at Winnipeg, 1909. See *Science*, Aug. 27, 1909, p. 279.

pious but credulous men. The study of comparative religions has called attention to the wonders of heathen magic and to the miraculous stories which gather round religious personalities: "the magicians did so with their enchantments". Again, the foes of miracle have been found in the very household of faith. Poets of the romantic school have interpreted with such beauty and insight the religious message of nature that a revelation given in exceptional occurrences, in signs and wonders, appears to be unnecessary and inharmonious. "The word Miracle", says Emerson, "as pronounced by the Christian churches, gives a false impression; it is Monster. It is not one with the blowing clover and the falling rain".² The doctrine of the divine immanence has been dominant in religious philosophy, and the transcendence of God implied in miracle has been denied or at least ignored. "If we cannot find the presence of God", it may be said, "in present daily experience, we shall not be apt to find it in the events of two thousand years ago. Piety as well as poetry demands but one miracle, the universal presence of the living God. Believe in miracles in the old sense if you will and if you can; but do not make them an essential article of the creed of the Church. If any man have faith let him have it to himself before God". Whether the depreciation of miracle be deplored as a sign of the decline of faith and the loosening of theological conviction, or be welcomed as an advance toward a purely spiritual and ethical religion, there is no doubt of its prominence in modern religious thought.

The historian, as we see, in approaching the question of miracle is beset by scientific objections, philosophic prepossessions and theological arguments pro and con. He may find the question so complicated with other questions, thought to lie outside his province, that he may leave the ultimate decision to metaphysics or to physical science. This is practically the attitude of Langlois and Seignobos, who say, "The very notion of a miracle is metaphysical;

² *Nature, Addresses and Lectures*, p. 109.

it implies a conception of the universe as a whole which transcends the limits of observation". And again, "The indirect method of history is always inferior to the direct methods of the sciences of observation. Historical science, with its imperfect means of information, cannot claim to check, contradict, or correct the results of other sciences, but must rather use their results to correct its own".³ The historian, in this view, when he finds a narrative containing accounts of the miraculous, will abdicate his claim to judge of its historical value in favor of the scientist or the metaphysician, neither of whom are by interest or training particularly concerned with the question of historical evidence. The principles thus laid down would either leave unused a mass of material which lies ready to the historian's hand, or would pass an *a priori* and therefore unscientific judgment upon narratives of the miraculous, rejecting them *en bloc* in the one case upon the principle that "miracles do not happen", or else accepting them in the other upon the authority of tradition, and in either case leaving the evidence unexamined.

While the historian cannot claim to go his way without regard to scientific probabilities or philosophic convictions, it comports ill with the dignity of his science to surrender to the physical scientist or to the metaphysician his prerogative of estimating the value of evidence. The victories won in the field of physical science should lead him to apply similar methods to historical problems, rather than to decide these problems upon *a priori* grounds.⁴ The historian in fact has the means, without going outside the limits of his own

³ *Introduction to the Study of History*, E. T., pp. 207n. and 207-208. They say again, "The historian is not called upon to investigate the first cause or final causes any more than the chemist or naturalist." P. 286.

⁴ Prof. W. E. Collins says that history uses "the method of induction". "It has nothing to do (that is, so far as it is truly historical) with *a priori* reasoning; it assumes nothing and takes nothing for granted, but moves from the known to the unknown in accordance with fixed and definite laws. In other words, it makes use of precisely the same inductive method which has led to all our modern triumphs in natural science." *Study of Ecclesiastical History*, p. 18.

science, to estimate the value of the evidence for miracle. Says Mr. H. B. George, speaking of historical documents, "If their credibility is rated high, it becomes more difficult to disparage any statement in them, whether it is called miraculous or not."⁵ Again there may be alleged miraculous events, such as those related in the New Testament, with consequences in the stream of history so far-reaching and impressive that it becomes, for the historian who would understand events in their causal connection, a matter of prime importance to decide whether these narratives of miracle are trustworthy or not. The denial of the miraculous event or the elimination of its miraculous character might conceivably leave a gap in historical continuity not to be filled except through admission of the miracle, and in this case it would be a sorry tribute to the principles of thought to deny, in the name of natural science, the influence of factors demanded by the higher law of cause and effect. The purpose of natural science is to make nature intelligible, and it would be invoked to poor purpose if the result were to make history unintelligible.

What then should be the attitude of the historian when face to face with the reputed facts of the Christian history? We believe that it is correctly expressed by Schmiedel when he says: "The normal procedure of the historian in dealing with events of the past will be in the first instance to try whether a non-miraculous explanation will serve, and to come to the other conclusion only on the strength of quite unexceptional testimony".⁶ The prime requisite is of course a mind open to the reception of the evidence and disposed to give it its proper weight. But, it may be asked, is not this requirement of an open mind a demand that the historian should pass upon questions of "first cause and final causes", and do not these questions lie outside the historian's province? No amount of evidence for miracle, it is usually allowed, will convince an

⁵ *Historical Evidence* (1909), p. 169.

⁶ *Encycl. Bibl.*, Art. "Resurrection and Ascension Narratives", c. 4040.

atheist, and it will be said that to ask the historian to give due weight to the evidence is practically to demand that he be a theist at least, if not a Christian, in his religious philosophy. The truth is, we see again, that the question of miracle while an historical question is not solely an historical question. No amount of evidence probably can convince one of the occurrence of a causeless event; so the investigator of miracle, if a miracle be an event not due to the ordinary processes of nature but due to the immediate exercise of divine power, while he need not be a convinced theist, must yet admit at least the possibility of the theistic postulate. So again no amount of evidence perhaps can convince the theist that God would work an isolated and meaningless marvel, or that His power should be the immediate cause of an event offensive to the moral sense, or utterly incongruous with the character and mission of the performer. To say that the evidence must be viewed in the light of the existence or possibility of an efficient Cause, is then only to say that the evidence must not be thrown out of court in advance on account of anti-theistic prepossession. And to say that the evidence should be examined in the light of the benevolent purpose of God and the needs of men, and in relation to the mission and character of Jesus and His apostles, is to say that the motive for an action and its appropriateness to the character of the performer are always to be considered in weighing the evidence that the action was performed.

Given the admission of the evidence for miracles, have we in support of the New Testament miracles the "quite unexceptional testimony" required? When, under the guidance of Harnack, we open the Acts of the Apostles, we find in its author a witness of the very highest order. In the preface of his former work Luke claims to have examined the evidence with great care, and the character of the Acts justifies a similar claim for it also. In chronological matters the Acts is a "very respectable historical work", whose lack of definiteness in cases where the author

lacked definite information enhances "our recognition of the trustworthiness of the book".⁷ Again, "all that Luke directly or indirectly tells us concerning the provinces, countries, and cities of Asia Minor, and concerning the routes of Paul's journeys, is unexceptional from the geographical standpoint".⁸ In summarizing his estimate of Luke as an historian, Harnack says: "The geographical and chronological references and notices in the book show the circumspection, the care, the consistency, and the trustworthiness of the writer".⁹ His treatment of persons and reports of their speeches justify the same general high estimate.¹⁰ In the first half of the Acts alone there are thirty-nine passages confirmed by statements in Paul's epistles. "The agreement which in these numerous instances exist between the Acts (chaps. i—xiv) and the Pauline epistles, although the latter are only incidental writings belonging to the latter years of the Apostle, is so extensive and so detailed as to exclude all wild hypotheses concerning those passages of the Acts that are without attestation in these epistles".¹¹ Among the statements thus attested is that "the power to work miracles and signs appears as part of the equipment of an apostle and missionary".¹² These epistles supply an even more stringent test for the accuracy of the latter half of Acts.¹³ Luke was an eye-witness of some of the miracles recorded, for it is a part of Harnack's argument for unity of authorship that the attitude toward the supernatural is the same in the "we-sections" as in the earlier chapters.¹⁴ Further, Luke was not only a companion of Paul but was in touch with the leaders of the Jerusalem Church, James, Philip, Silas

⁷ *Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 29, 30.

⁸ P. 102.

⁹ P. 112.

¹⁰ Pp. 117ff.

¹¹ P. 272.

¹² P. 270.

¹³ P. xxxviii.

¹⁴ P. 141.

and Mark,¹⁵ and almost certainly with Peter and Barnabas.¹⁶ Moreover Luke's "self-restraint vouches well for the relative trustworthiness of the Jerusalem accounts"; and of all the miracles of Acts it may be said "that, measured by the miracles of the *Acta Pauli* or of the *Acta Johannis* and later apocryphal Acts of the Apostles they appear scarcely miracles at all".¹⁷ When finally we remember that Luke's training as a physician would be apt to incline him to skepticism rather than credulity, (he still practised medicine according to Harnack, p. xi., and we recall the old adage, *ubi tres medici, ibi duo athei*), we may well wonder how his testimony to the miracles of the early Church could possibly be stronger. Certainly in point of intelligence, candor, absence of credulity as compared with contemporaries, abundant means of information through his own observation and close association with the leaders of the Church, proved accuracy of statement in numerous details where his statements can be controlled, confirmation of his statements by contemporary documents, and professional bias, he is a witness whose testimony is of the "quite unexceptional" character required by Schmiedel, if not quite of the miraculous degree of strength demanded by Hume.

The number of miracles to which Luke is supposed to give testimony is somewhat reduced in Harnack's hands by a rather free use of the theory of coincidence.¹⁸ It is

¹⁵ P. 164.

¹⁶ Pp. 149, 150.

¹⁷ P. 160.

¹⁸ Among the cases so treated are the earthquake at Philippi, "a natural occurrence treated as a special instance of Providential interference" (p. 141); the recovery of Eutychus from the shock of his fall, although "of course Luke regarded, and would have us regard the occurrence as an instance of raising from the dead" (p. 146); the raising of Dorcas whose place in primary tradition is defended ("I consider it quite probable that, even during the lifetime of Peter stories were current concerning dead who had been raised again by that apostle, indeed that he himself may have believed that he had called a dead woman to life again") (p. 152); the punishment of Herod, "a real event narrated from a religious point of view" (p. 153); the trembling

true that the explanation of coincidence readily suggests itself in some of the cases as probable, and it is sometimes very difficult to decide whether an event should be called miraculous or strikingly "providential". It may well be that Eutychus was merely stunned by his fall, although a physician present (Luke) thought that he was dead, and it is quite possible that a missionary (Paul) should be released from prison by an earthquake, a "natural event timed opportunely", as Dr. Sanday has expressed it;¹⁹ but that within the same religious circle a woman already laid out for burial should revive as another missionary (Peter) prayed, and that perhaps there should be another earthquake, "a natural occurrence", so timed as to assist and confirm the ecstasy of the disciples, puts a rather excessive strain upon our belief. The explanation of coincidence, which works well for one event, becomes less convincing the more it is used, and the coincidence of so many coincidences, occurring within the apostolic circle, itself cries aloud for a non-natural explanation.

Harnack's objections to Luke's testimony to miracle are really reducible to two. In the first place, Luke was superstitious, a "Christian Scientist", who thought that he himself worked miracles and that others performed them. He was influenced as Harnack says in mild reproach of such modern writers as Ramsay, B. Weiss and Zahn, by the "conviction that miracles really happened."²⁰ Although Luke was less

of the place, iv. 31, when it is said that the disciples' ecstasy "was assisted and confirmed by an earthquake" (p. 185n.),—elsewhere it is suggested that "the trembling of ecstasy is transferred to the place, &c." (p. 154); the blinding of Elymas, of which "it is enough to know that the Proconsul's magician lost his eyesight at the time that the influence of Paul won over his master" (p. 153); the death of Ananias, in which case we may even "suppose that Peter really pronounced a sentence of death against the guilty pair and that their death actually followed . . . How this took place scarcely allows of conjecture" (p. 155); and finally Peter's release from prison by an angel, where "we may suppose that such a wonderful (*i. e.*, entirely unexpected) release really occurred; the details of the story vouch for this" (p. 160n.).

¹⁹ *Life of Christ in Recent Research*, p. 217.

²⁰ P. 302. Cf. pp. 148, 273.

credulous than other authors of his time, and as we are told less credulous than his sources,²¹ his testimony to miracles is vitiated by the fact that he believed that miracles happened. Who then could give competent testimony to the occurrence of miracles, if they really occurred? Not Luke, who was a sort of "Christian Scientist"; not Peter if he could be placed upon the witness stand, for he himself probably thought that he had raised a dead woman to life; not Paul, for he too believed that he wrought miracles; and not the members of the Primitive Community, for even in their case "later legends and legends with a doctrinal tendency show themselves even more powerful than the memory of the actual history".²²

But Harnack has a second and weightier objection to Luke's narrative of the miraculous. In his account in Acts of the Resurrection and Ascension, Luke has altered his own account at the end of his Gospel in favor of "a tertiary tradition, indeed a myth",²³ and it is asked "why may he not previously have given up a primary in exchange for a secondary tradition?"²⁴ Again as regards his description of Pentecost Luke has not seen that his account in Acts ii. is really a doublet of Acts iv. 31,²⁵ which according to Harnack describes "the actual historical Pentecost".²⁶ The point here raised of the difference between Luke's condensed account of the Resurrection and Ascension in his Gospel and the more extended and detailed account in Acts, no doubt presents a real and important difficulty. It is allowable to suggest, however, that the differences in the records do not invalidate the testimony to the central facts common to both, and Harnack himself, with his keen vision for the

²¹ P. 148.

²² P. 158. A remark of Prof. James concerning another matter may here be recalled: "A rule of thinking which would absolutely prevent me from acknowledging certain kinds of truth if those kinds of truth were really there, would be an irrational rule." *Will to Believe*, p. 28.

²³ P. 159.

²⁴ P. 157.

²⁵ P. 241.

²⁶ P. 184.

literary features of Luke's writings, has perhaps pointed out the direction in which we may look for a solution of the problem presented by the fore-shortened perspective of the Gospel's close. Arguing that the lack of definiteness as to time, place, etc., in Acts chap. ii. is not to be accounted for by supposing a written source, definite in these details but spoiled by an editor, he says: "It is ever so much more natural to suppose that we have here a worked-up narrative of a character that of itself forbids close examination into the clearness and definiteness of its details, because throughout one single point is kept in view. The unprejudiced reader does not notice these instances of obscurity—on the other hand, the essential point of the narrative stands out quite clearly—nor were they probably noticed by Luke himself."²⁷ It is quite apparent, as is pointed out also by Dr. Denney,²⁸ that in the last chapter of Luke's Gospel a single point is kept in view, that of the appearance of the Risen Christ in its full significance to the eleven and in its relation to the last commission; and this point stands out in the narrative all the more clearly because of the absence of detail. And further this lack of definiteness is pardonable in a writer who, as is probable, is contemplating another work in which some omitted details of time and place are to be supplied.²⁹

Of the extraordinary theory that Luke in his earlier chapters has unconsciously given us a double account of Pentecost little need here be said, particularly since, so far as observed, this view has not met with much favor from other critics. The presumption remains strongly in favor of Luke, as he was not a historian of a later age piecing to-

²⁷ Pp. 239, 240.

²⁸ *Jesus and the Gospel*, pp. 138-141.

²⁹ "The natural tendency is to think that the closer the agreement is, the greater is its demonstrative power; we ought, on the contrary, to adopt as a rule the paradox that an agreement proves more when it is confined to a small number of circumstances. It is at such points of coincidence between diverging statements that we are to look for scientifically established historical facts." Langlois and Seignobos, *op. cit.*, pp. 201, 202.

gether musty documents, but was in living contact with the actors in his history. Since his theme in Acts, as Harnack has so well expressed it, is "the power of the Spirit of Jesus in the apostles manifested in history",³⁰ it is natural to suppose that Luke would exercise unusual care in verifying from actual witnesses the accounts of a fact so fundamental to his whole history as that of the original descent of the Spirit. When the doublets discovered by Harnack are examined, it is seen that in one of them the descent of the Spirit is made the basis of the numerous conversions, the miracle of the lame man, and the boldness of the apostles; while in the other the miracle of the lame man (which we are led to believe may not have been as much of a miracle as is usually supposed) becomes the determining cause of the whole development.³¹ The more this theory of discrepant doublets is examined, the more likely, it is probable, will the reader be to accept Luke's "grandiose" account of Pentecost, as explaining the activity and success of the apostles, rather than Harnack's attenuated account.

The testimony of the apostle Paul to miracle corroborates that of Luke and is in itself of supreme importance. Not only the direct testimony of Paul to miracles, but the witness of his recorded words, and of his epistles, of his conversion and his career, to the Resurrection of Jesus, unless all such testimony belongs of necessity to the "charmed circle" of legend, is of the highest consequence. In a recent volume Dr. G. A. Gordon has attempted, with much beauty of rhetoric as well as elevation of feeling, to assimilate Paul's experience in his conversion and his vision of the Risen Christ to the experience of the Christian to-day. "If we are to have contact with the living Christ, it can be only after the manner of Paul. We must meet him in our way through the world; we must hear his voice out of the invisible,—we must be arrested by an immediate question from him, 'Why persecutest thou me?'".³² Dr.

³⁰ P. xviii.

³¹ Pp. 179, 184.

³² *Religion and Miracle*, p. 119.

Gordon says that "the experience of Paul sets the ideal for all disciples : 'nevertheless I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me'. Here we are out of the region of miracle; we are in a far higher world, we are in the world of soul and love and triumphant life".³³ It is rather surprising to find Paul's words used in an argument to prove that miracles, including that of the Resurrection, are superfluous for religion. Is Saul among the prophets? Paul's preaching was based upon a miraculous fact, that Christ died and rose again, on the third day; his conversion and call to apostleship were, according to his own words, founded upon the fact that the Risen Lord had appeared to him in the way; the Resurrection of Jesus in its varied implications was woven into the very fabric of his thinking;³⁴ and miracles, "what Christ wrought through me", were the regular accompaniment and authentication of his apostolic mission.³⁵

It is sometimes said that Paul has given us no detailed description of any of his miracles, but there seems to be no reasonable doubt that, if he had done so, his miracles would be found to be of the same character as those attributed to Peter and to himself in the Acts. Just as he ranges his own vision of the Risen Christ along side of that of the other apostles, so, in a controversial passage in which he asserts that in nothing was he behind the chiefest apostles, he declares as not open to question: "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, by signs and wonders and mighty works."³⁶ It is indeed difficult to see how a witness could be found, or even imagined, the testimony of whose words, religious experience and world-moving labors would be more telling upon the subject of miracles.

The witness of the Gospels to the miracles of Jesus, quite aside from the question of their authorship, is admittedly

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

³⁴ Cf. Rom. i. 4; iv. 25; vi. 4; vii. 4; viii. 34; x. 9; xiv. 9.

³⁵ Rom. xv. 19; II Cor. xii. 12.

³⁶ II Cor. xii. 11, 12. Cf. I Cor. xv. 4.

strong. Whether or not we have first hand evidence in Matthew, or in one of its sources, or in John, it is generally allowed in the case of the Synoptics, and quite commonly in the case of John, that we have at least good second hand evidence. It is admitted on every hand that the apostles founded the Church in the belief that Jesus had risen from the dead, however this belief is to be accounted for, and the apostolic band, if their testimony could be produced, would doubtless unite in their witness to the central miracle of the Resurrection. Again there can scarcely be a doubt that the apostolic witness, however accurately or loosely it may be reproduced in detail in the Gospels, would coincide with the Gospels in testimony to the mighty works of Jesus' ministry. Critical study has shown, as Traub has indicated,³⁷ that in their view of miracles there is no essential difference between the Synoptic Gospels and John, and that the Gospels are of one piece in their interest in miracles and in the value assigned to them. All four Gospels, for example, contain the "nature miracle" of the feeding of the multitude, and all the strata of tradition that criticism can discover testify to the raising of the dead.³⁸ Of the mighty works of Jesus in general it has been recently said: "So closely are most of these stories (of His mighty works in general) interwoven with the most probable incidents of His life, so supported are they by His authentic words, so sustained by direct and indirect evidence of every sort, that to tear them from the Evangelical narrative would be to renounce definitely and forever the hope of any real knowledge of the life of Jesus".³⁹

³⁷ *Die Wunder im Neuen Testament*, pp. 22, 33.

³⁸ Mark and parallels tell of the raising of Jairus' daughter (Traub thinks it very doubtful whether the words in Mk. v. 39, "She is not dead but sleepeth," are to be regarded as a medical diagnosis and not rather as an expression of the Christian assurance that for believers death has become a sleep. *Op. cit.*, p. 45); the special matter of Luke tells of the widow's son; John of Lazarus; and the non-Markan source called Q contains the message to the Baptist, "the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, etc."

³⁹ Worcester and McComb, *Religion and Medicine*, p. 339.

The minute study of the Gospels which modern criticism has promoted, aided by the progress of psychology and the rise of the modern healing cults, has brought about an interesting situation. It has come to be generally acknowledged even by those who in terms would deny the occurrence of miracles, that the record of the healing ministry is largely if not wholly trustworthy. The study of the Gospels has, it may be said, compelled belief in the healing ministry, and modern psychology has facilitated it. This attitude of acceptance of the works of healing and rejection of miracles of another class found classical expression in Harnack's aphorism: "That the earth in its course stood still; that a she-ass spoke; that a storm was quieted by a word, we do not believe, and we never shall again believe; but that the lame walked, the blind saw, and the deaf heard will not be so summarily dismissed as an illusion".⁴⁰ This attitude toward the healing wonders in writers with no special bias toward the supernatural may be abundantly illustrated. Schmiedel, for example, says, "According to Mk. vi. 5f. we are to understand that Jesus healed where he found faith. This power is so strongly attested throughout the first and second centuries that, in view of the spiritual greatness of Jesus and the imposing character of his personality, it would be indeed difficult to deny it to him".⁴¹ Similarly Dr. Andrew D. White: "While modern thought holds the testimony to the vast mass of such legends in all ages as worthless, it is very widely acknowledged that great and gifted beings who endow the earth with higher religious ideas, gaining the deepest hold upon the hearts and minds of multitudes, may at times exercise such influence upon those about them

⁴⁰ *What is Christianity*, pp. 30, 31. Cf. the statement in regard to the lame man, Acts iii; "These cures of lameness as well as the cures of blindness . . . could well have actually taken place—cures, more especially cures of lameness, by suggestion are recorded at all times." *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 151.

⁴¹ *Encycl. Bibl.*, Art. "Gospels" c. 1884.

that the sick in mind or body are helped or healed".⁴² And Dr. G. A. Gordon says : "That He wrought wonders upon the physical life of men is beyond dispute. That He gained access to the souls of the plain people by his marvelous power as a healer of physical distress is not open to question".⁴³ The author of *Ecce Homo* thinks that without the works of healing the name of Jesus would be known only to the antiquarian,⁴⁴ and Ewald says that "without the daily miracle of healing worked by Jesus Christ, there is no Gospel history left".⁴⁵

This general admission of works of power and mercy in the ministry of Jesus, whether these works be called miraculous or not, is an important step in the direction of recognizing the reliability of the Gospel narratives. But whether this admission is in the interests of belief in miracles is open to question. From the standpoint of historical criticism these works are very largely accepted, but in the light of modern psychology, mental healing, and the phenomena of the healing cults they are regarded as susceptible of a non-miraculous explanation. Thus Traub, who finds the secret of the mighty works in the healing power of suggestion, says : "Even the much-maligned modern science has established the fact that Jesus actually performed remarkable cures. But it has not thereby given any help to the old-time faith in miracle; it has drawn the miraculous out of the corner where it supposed that it had a quiet resting place".⁴⁶

Two queries are suggested by the situation thus presented: Can the healing ministry of Jesus be adequately explained by the psychology of suggestion? And can a

⁴² *History of the Warfare of Science with Theology*, vol. ii., p. 5.

⁴³ *Religion and Miracle*, p. 131.

⁴⁴ P. 58.

⁴⁵ Quoted in Godet, *Defense of the Christian Faith*,³ p. 118.

⁴⁶ Gerade die vielgeschmähte moderne Wissenschaft hat festgestellt, dass Jesus tatsächlich merkwürdige Heilungen vollbracht hat. Damit hat sie ja dem alten Mirakelglauben keinen Dienst getan; sie hat die Mirakel wieder aus einer Ecke vertrieben, wo sie einen ruhigen Platz zu haben meinten. *Die Wunder im Neuen Testament*, p. 41.

line be drawn between the healing wonders and the other miracles of the Gospels so that the former may be accepted and the latter rejected? (1) The influence of mind over body and the beneficial effects of religious faith, with its resulting cheerfulness and hopefulness, upon the bodily health, are not newly discovered facts. They have been known from the time when the Wise Man wrote, "A merry heart doeth good like a medicine," to the remark of a modern physician, popularly attributed to Dr. Osler, that he prescribed but three remedies: faith, hope and *nuxvomica*. In modern times, however, the study of hypnotism and suggestion in its various forms has not only enlarged our knowledge of the whole subject, but has shown that the power of mind over body in general, and the power of one person's mind mediately over the body of another, may be much greater than was formerly supposed. The influence of commanding personalities, such as great military or religious leaders, and of critical and startling situations has been studied and shown to be capable of bringing out not only surprising displays of courage and heroism, but quite unsuspected exhibitions of physical strength and endurance.⁴⁷

Again it is not a thing incredible to normal Christian experience that God should heal the sick in answer to prayer, without miracle in the strict sense. The admitted cures performed under the various healing sects, as well as the extraordinary claims put forth by some of them, strengthen the belief that there may be latent and hitherto unsuspected powers in personality and in nature available for the cure

⁴⁷ At the battle of Five Forks General Sheridan was just giving the order to advance when "a man in the skirmish line was struck in the neck; the blood spurted as if the jugular vein had been cut. 'I'm killed!' he cried, and dropped to the ground. 'You're not hurt a bit,' cried Sheridan. 'Pick up your gun, man, and move right on to the front.' Such was the electric effect of his words that the poor fellow snatched up his musket, and rushed forward a dozen paces before he fell, never to rise again." Horace Porter: *Campaigning with Grant*, p. 437. Similar instances are given in W. James' "*The Powers of Men*," published as a tract by the Emmanuel Movement, Boston.

of disease. It is natural then that the New Testament miracles should be studied in the light of these modern instances, and of the newly discovered or suspected powers of personality, and that an effort should be made to assimilate the miracles to experiences open to observation to-day which, while mysterious enough, are not regarded as miraculous. It is not strange that men should argue by analogy from what men are known to do to-day to what Paul or Luke may have done, and from Paul and Luke to the greater works of the greater personality of Jesus.⁴⁸

The effort "to make both ends meet", as Dr. Sanday has expressed it,⁴⁹ by doing justice on the one hand to the recorded events of the Gospels, and by giving to these events on the other hand a natural explanation through the aid of the psychology of suggestion, is without doubt the most significant and interesting feature of the recent discussion of the subject. So far as the attempt is successful, we may, it is presumed, retain the old and precious faith in Jesus as the Great Physician, and yet may be relieved of the burden of miracle. The cures performed by Jesus, as the response to human faith, may still have religious value—they called upon the Lord in their trouble and He delivered them from their distresses,—and a mystery, perhaps impenetrable, surrounds these cures. The influence of mind upon matter, even in its most familiar manifestations, is often thought to present an insoluble problem in metaphysics, and the phenomena of hypnotism and suggestion heighten this mystery to a striking degree; but we are nevertheless enabled, it is thought, through the mediation of psychology, to believe in the healing ministry of Jesus with a conscience void of offense both toward the Gospel record and toward the scientific conception of the universe.

It may now be asked, however, whether this attempted assimilation of the healing power of Jesus and the powers of the modern hypnotist or healer (assuming for the moment

⁴⁸ Cf. Sanday: *Life of Christ in Recent Research*, pp. 222, 223.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 203.

that the healer does not work miracles) has been really successful. Or, in making the attempt, are the powers of nature expanded beyond the limits that sober scientific judgment would approve, or else the mighty works of Jesus contracted into limits so narrow as to do injustice to the Gospel records? Even Dr. Sanday, the most cautious of those who have attempted this adjustment between miracles and modern science, admits that some concessions must be made. "Deduct something perhaps from the historical statement of the fact; and add something to our conception of what is possible in the course of nature; and if the two ends do not exactly meet we may yet see that they are not very far from meeting".⁵⁰ The leaders of the Emmanuel Movement, again, have attempted the adjustment more in detail so far as the Gospel miracles are concerned, and it is plainly in their interest both to confirm the historicity of the Gospel accounts and to show that their own method of the "moral control of nervous disorders" was used by Jesus in His own healing ministry. We may appreciate to the full the purpose of the movement, the sobriety of its claims and its large measure of success in alleviating both mental and physical distress, without being convinced that its leaders can find in the miracles of the Gospel support for their particular method. A glance at the claims of the Emmanuel leaders and at their treatment of the Gospel records of healing may show some ground for this doubt. Dr. Worcester is modest in his claims in the introduction of *Religion and Medicine*, saying that "as an independent remedial agent the legitimate sphere of psychotherapy is strictly limited. It is in the field of functional neuroses that all its real victories have been won".⁵¹ Yet in the chapter on "The Healing Wonders of Christ", it is intimated that all the cures wrought by Jesus can be accounted for by the same principle as that used in the Emmanuel treatment; that of suggestion. Of the

⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 223.

⁵¹ P. 4.

healing of the leper, it is said : "In the ancient world two types of leprosy were recognized, the one curable, the other incurable. And from the vague description given in the Gospels we are unable to decide which type is referred to. An analogy to the healing of the milder type may perhaps be found in the well-known fact that certain forms of eczema are recognized to be largely of nervous origin and are amenable to the influence of suggestion. 'Eruptions on the skin', says a distinguished medical writer, 'will follow excessive nervous strain'".⁵²

Of a different case, however, it is said : "Even at a distance, as in the case of the Syro-Phoenician woman's daughter, He is able to effect a cure,—a feat not unexampled in modern times and certainly not to be set aside when we take into consideration the results of psychical research".⁵³ In both of these cases, it may be suspected, there is a little straining necessary in order to make out the analogy; in the first instance by a substantial reduction from the face value of the record, and in the second by a tribute to the power of modern "absent treatment" scarcely warranted by a sober estimate of the available evidence. From the narrative we have no reason to suppose that the Evangelists or the people who heard of the cure⁵⁴ thought of the leprosy as being different, for example, from that of Naaman; and we recall what the king of Israel said when appealed to in behalf of the leprosy of Naaman, "Am I God, to kill and to make alive, that this man doth send unto me to recover a man of his leprosy?"⁵⁵

⁵² Pp. 345, 346.

⁵³ P. 362.

⁵⁴ The effect of the publication, as given in Mk. i. 45, is that "Jesus could no more openly enter into a city, . . . and they came to him from every quarter." Lk. v. 15 says, "great multitudes came together to hear, and to be healed of their infirmities."

⁵⁵ II Ki. v. 7. Strauss' polemic against the naturalistic theory of Paulus will be recalled. Speaking of the cure of demoniacal insanity, Strauss said: "But while granting the possibility of many cures, it is evident that in this field the legend has not been idle, but has confounded the easier cases, which alone could be cured psychologically,

In the attempted explanation of the Gospel cures by the principle of suggestion, it is only fair to notice the contrast between these and the cures effected by those who professedly use this principle. The leaders of the Emmanuel Movement, for example, profess to treat with success only a certain kind of disorders, functional and nervous; Jesus, according to the records, cured all manner of sickness and disease among the people. Even of patients of the desired kind, the Emmanuel leaders do not pretend to cure or benefit all who come for treatment—there are some hits and a good many misses.⁵⁶ Jesus healed them all, the only limitation, if we interpret the passage Mk. vi. 5, 6 aright, being one not due to lack of power, but growing out of the moral situation. Their treatment by religious suggestion is regularly accompanied by medical treatment; and the resulting cures are as a rule, we believe, gradual; He healed instantaneously⁵⁷ by a word or touch, or without either. The same motive of compassion for human suffering no doubt underlies the healing ministry of Jesus and that of the Emmanuel Movement, but in point of comprehensiveness, of method of treatment, and of uniform success the contrast is more striking than the analogy.

In the case of Christian Science the analogy, from the standpoint of claims put forward, is much closer. Christian Scientists make no distinction in theory between organic and functional disease, they discard the use of medicine or other material means, and where there is faith their treatment should be immediately and uniformly suc-

with the most difficult and complicated, to which such a treatment was totally inapplicable." (*Life of Jesus*, translated from fourth German edition, vol. II., p. 479.) In spite of advances in psychology and medicine in the last half century, it is evident that the theory of suggestion still needs to be helped out quite largely by the legendary theory to account for the full record of the healing ministry..

⁵⁶ Their own estimate, according to current report, is that they accept for treatment two-thirds of those who apply to them, and of those accepted two-thirds are benefited or cured.

⁵⁷ With one exception, of course, Mk. viii. 22-26, where there were two stages in the cure.

cessful. But these claims, as all investigators who are not Christian Scientists, and the practice of many Christian Scientists themselves as well, unite in testifying, must be considerably abated. In the class of cases where a true test of these claims could best be made, i. e., surgical cases, the text-book of Christian Science itself confesses failure. We are told, indeed that "bones have only the substantiality of the thought which formed them", but are advised by Mrs. Eddy that "until the advancing age admits the efficiency and supremacy of Mind, it is better to leave broken bones and dislocations to the fingers of a surgeon, etc".⁵⁸ It is not unusual, we believe, for the healer to refuse to treat surgical cases. Dr. R. C. Cabot thinks that by a sort of "natural selection" sufferers from organic disease rarely consult the Christian Scientist, and his investigation of "One Hundred Christian Science Cures"⁵⁹ leads him to the conclusion, "first, that most Christian Science cures are probably genuine; but second, that they are not the cures of organic diseases". Over against the mental and physical benefits conferred by their treatment should fairly be placed the fear produced by the theory of "malicious animal magnetism"—if thought can cure it can also kill—and the reported tragedies resulting from neglect of medical advice or other necessary precautions. A careful examination by an outsider of the benefits or evils of Christian Science will scarcely lead to the conclusion that there is enough similarity in their cures to those of the Gospels to argue either that the Gospel miracles are reproduced in Christian Science practice, or that the modern instances explain the miracles of the Gospels. No method of healing known to-day, it may be asserted with confidence, can cure all forms of disease, or is uniformly successful with any form.

⁵⁸ *Science and Health*, edition of 1895, pp. 421, 400.

⁵⁹ *McClure's Magazine*, Aug., 1908. He says that he has never in his researches found a case "in which there was any good evidence that cancer, consumption, or any other organic disease had been arrested or banished."

Cases of dispossession readily lend themselves to the explanation of cure by suggestion, and the method of rebuke used by Jesus in such cases is sometimes regarded as typical of the method used in all His cures. Not only are cases of demoniacal possession regarded as those of nervous disorder, but other symptoms, such as those of fever, loss of hearing or speech, lameness, blindness and paralysis, are brought within the category of possession, and thus thought to imply no real impairment of the organs affected, but to be of nervous or hysterical character.⁶⁰ But even in the plainest cases of dispossession, the assumption that the cures were wrought through the conscious or unconscious use of certain psychophysical laws whose operation may be studied to-day, is not without its difficulties. Our authorities unite in believing, doubtless correctly, that Jesus attributed the disease, at least where He said, "Come out from him", to demon possession. Even the authors of *Religion and Medicine* say, "His ignorance of psychology and physiology is one of the limitations of His human knowledge".⁶¹ We cannot then refer His uniform success to superior knowledge of the nature of diseases, mental or physical, for at least in the cases of possession His diagnosis was incorrect. Nor are we able to attribute His cures to superior knowledge of those laws of suggestion, and of the influence of mind over body, of which students now know more than they did, but of which they do not yet know the limits; for His own explanation of the method of the cure was, "If I by the Spirit of God cast out demons".⁶² Certainly then the Gospel cures are not to be regarded as miracles of knowledge, or as due

⁶⁰ Traub treats the use of the hand, of the word of rebuke, or of spittle, by Jesus in His cures as indicating the belief that the disease was due to a demon. *Op. cit.*, p. 53f. Schmiedel says: "It is highly significant that, in a discourse of Peter (Acts x. 38), the whole activity of Jesus is summed up in this, that He went about doing good and healing all those that were oppressed of the devil. By this expression demoniacs are intended." *Encycl. Bibl.*, art. "Gospels," c. 1884.

⁶¹ P. 361.

⁶² Mt. xii. 28. Cf. Lk. xi. 20, "If I by the finger of God, etc."

to superior knowledge either of the laws of the psychophysical organism, or of the power of suggestion. How then, under the admission of ignorance of diagnosis, are we to account, apart from miracle, for the uniform and incomparable success of the treatment? Traub says finally, as explaining the healing power, "The principal means of healing was and remains the personal impression. Jesus overpowered".⁶³ And should one ask upon what this overpowering personal impression itself rests, the answer is, "Here we stand at the boundary of historical knowledge".⁶⁴ The solution proposed for the mysterious problem of demoniacal possession as recorded in the Gospels, is not at least so clear that it can be used as a key for the understanding of all of the healing ministry. The elimination of superior knowledge both of the nature of the disease and of the method of cure may be said rather to deepen than to dispel the mystery.

(2) Beside the healing wonders, the Gospels contain accounts of other mighty works to which the principle of conscious or unconscious suggestion are plainly inapplicable. If all the diseases mentioned in the records, whether of lameness, blindness or leprosy, were of the hysterical order, there is a broad line of distinction between the healing works and the other reported miracles; but if the healing ministry be accepted in its fulness and at its face value, the reason for making the distinction here will be less obvious. If Jesus really healed all manner of disease among the people, if He cured the paralytic and restored the withered hand, if He opened the eyes of the blind, if He delivered the leper from his "death-in-life", took the demoniac from his "hell-in-life" and left him clothed and in his right mind, if He had power to call back those who were at the very gates of death, He did the works which no other had done, or

⁶³ Die Hauptmittel war und bleibt der persönliche Eindruck. Jesus überwältigte. *Die Wunder im N. T.*, p. 56.

⁶⁴ Fragt man uns zum Schluss, worin beruhte jener persönliche Eindruck? so stehen wir hier an der Grenze des geschichtlichen Erkennens. P. 57.

can do to-day, whatever those works be called. He showed a mastery over the complex elements of human life which make it not incredible that, as Lord of life, He should reach even beyond the gates of the grave, and that, if nature was made for man and not man for nature, as Son of Man, He should be Lord over nature. Aside at least from philosophical theories, the cure of the demoniac (Mk. v.) is as wonderful as the withering of the fig-tree (Mk. xii.), and surely the turning of water into wine (Jno. ii.) is not a greater miracle than the cure of congenital blindness (Jno. ix.). From the standpoint of historical criticism at least, it seems somewhat arbitrary to accept the miracles of healing and dispossession, and to reject the miracles of nature and of raising from the dead, when the latter are equally congruous with the character of Jesus, supported by the same evidence, and contained in the same strata of tradition. To say that Jesus had such absolute mastery over the bodies and minds of men, that He could hold back from death, but that He could never reach beyond its gates; that He could cure all the ills, mental and physical, which human nature is heir to, and yet that He could not reach one inch beyond the bodily organism to avert danger or to minister to human need, would be to draw an arbitrary line both through the Gospel records and through any consistent picture of the person of Jesus.

When we study the words and claims of Jesus we see again their harmony with all classes of His mighty works. In one respect at least the figure of Jesus as drawn in the Gospels is consistent. It is that of one who had supreme control over all the forces of human life and destiny. He said "Thy sins be forgiven thee", and He said "Arise and walk"; He said to the leper "Be clean", and to the threatening waves, "Be still"; He opened the eyes of the blind, and He fed the fainting multitude. He restored the demoniac boy to his distressed father, and the dead son to his anguished mother. He raised the dead and preached the gospel to the poor. His words as recorded are in strik-

ing harmony with the silent claim of His works. He called Himself the Son of God, the judge of the nations, and the light and life of men. We may reject the whole Gospel picture as to our way of thinking bizarre, grotesque and impossible; or we may, by the use of a subjective criterion or at the behest of a philosophical theory, tone down all the colors, in words, claims, character and deeds, to a naturalistic basis; but to accept fully and without qualification the works showing power over disease, and to reject entirely those showing power over nature or death, would be a proceeding with little warrant either in science or in historical criticism.

The attempted explanation of the healing wonders by psychology and psychotherapy, has emphasized the vital connection between the personality and the works of Jesus. The Scriptural record and the modern historical critic unite in ascribing mighty works of some kind to Jesus, and in connecting them inseparably with His person. "This beginning of signs did Jesus in Cana of Galilee and manifested forth His glory". Where the personality and the works are so indissolubly connected, our view of one will inevitably react upon our view of the other. If the Person is above nature, we should expect the works to be above nature also. The world of scholarship still believes that He did all things well, that He made the deaf to hear and the blind to see; and historical criticism has made clearer the "inimitable harmony" between the character and teaching and the healing works of Jesus. "When we see the conqueror", says Emerson, "we do not think so much of any one battle or success. We see that we had exaggerated the difficulty. It was easy to him". Where Jesus is viewed, as He has been by the Christian Church, as the manifestation of the love and power of God, the miracles do not seem incongruous or incredible. If He came to the world as the expression of divine love, as the good Samaritan, binding up the wounds of humanity, it is not unnatural that He should show extraordinary resources in the relief of human

distress. It was natural for Him, if He was what the Church has believed Him to be. And if further He was, as Peter called Him, the Prince of Life, it would indeed be strange, apart from His own Resurrection, if He showed no power over death.

"If our virtues

Did not go forth of us, 't were all alike

As if we had them not".

Modern science has indeed enlarged our conception of nature and of the powers of human nature, and it is legitimate to attempt its expansion still further so that it may include the mighty works of Jesus. But unless we subtract very materially from these works, it must be confessed that, in the present state of our knowledge, nature with Jesus in it is not nature as its laws may be discovered without reference to Him and to His works of might and of mercy. It will be an idealized nature, the thought of which is never far from the prophet's vision or the apostle's hope, wherein the lawlessness of sin will be banished, peace will reign instead of strife, diseased organs will be restored to their normal use, the lame man shall leap as an hart and the tongue of the dumb shall sing.

The words of the Great Teacher warn us against an over-valuation of miracles. An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and the greatest of miracles is the miracle of a transformed character. "If I were worthy in the sight of my Lord", said Ansgar, the missionary to Sweden, "I should ask Him to grant me one miracle—that He would make me a good man". The subjective miracle of grace, however, naturally leads one to look for its complement in the objective field of history. Said Franz Delitzsch of his experiences in the Mündenthal: "Still to me is the reality of miracles sealed by the miracles of grace which I saw with my own eyes in the congregations of that blessed valley".⁶⁵ History and experience seem somehow, for better or worse, bound together; just as the

⁶⁵ Quoted by Robertson Nicoll: *The Church's One Foundation*, p. 163.

Christ within was experienced by the apostle Paul in the faith of the historic Christ, who loved him and gave Himself for him. It is an illusion to suppose that by surrendering the objective miracle the question of the relation of religion and science is avoided. The psychologist will claim the sphere of inner experience, and will give a naturalistic analysis of prayer and conversion, as surely as the physicist claims the sphere of matter and the movements of matter. "However remote an emotion of the soul may appear, however intimate, however hidden, however mysterious it may be for the theologian, it is a phenomenon, linked necessarily according to certain laws with other phenomena. In vain does the believer protest that his act of faith, his prayer, his sentiment of union with God, are entirely spiritual in their mode of being, without relation to material things".⁶⁶ The same tide which sweeps out the supernatural from the field of history may banish it as effectually from the realm of religious experience.

For the theistic faith in general, we venture to say in closing, the question of miracles is not indifferent. "It is not miracles that matter", Harnack has said, "the question on which everything turns is whether we are helplessly yoked to an inexorable necessity, or whether a God exists who rules and governs, and whose power to compel nature we can move by prayer and make a part of our experience".⁶⁷ It is precisely here that miracle becomes a support to theistic faith, for it answers this important question and answers it unmistakably in the affirmative. It is not without significance that the faith in God which has sustained itself among great numbers of people and throughout long reaches of time is in a God who has revealed His help in history by a mighty hand and stretched out arm. It is the faith of Abraham and Paul in a God who raises the dead.

⁶⁶ Emile Boutroux: *Science et Religion dans la Philosophie Contemporaine*. Paris, 1908; pp. 226, 227.

⁶⁷ *What is Christianity?* P. 32.

The revelation of God in nature, as this is interpreted for us by the poets, is often offered as a substitute for this faith in historic revelation. "If there appear to be no longer any room left for miracle, it is that the whole creation may appear miraculous, the garment that God is weaving for Himself on the roaring looms of time."⁶⁸ It is proper to ask for the origin of this new interpretation of nature, and it may be that it will be found to be itself the product of supernatural revelation. Perhaps if God had never spoken in some burning bush, even the poet's eyes would never have seen that

"Earth is crammed with heaven,

And every common bush aflame with God."

Perhaps men would never have seen the universal miracle if their eyes had not been opened by the special miracle. The history of religion indeed teaches us the insufficiency of the natural revelation when not interpreted by the special revelation. In ancient and modern times, the revelation in nature has not lifted men out of polytheism and idolatry, nor has the goodness and glory of God shown in nature and providence called them to repentance. Even in modern times there are not wanting philosophers of insight, who recognizing the loss of their denial to the poetic interpretation of nature, yet deny the inference "from Nature to Nature's God. To them nature is no vestal virgin. "Visible nature is all plasticity and indifference,—a moral multiverse, as one might call it, and not a moral universe—if there be a divine Spirit of the universe, nature, such as we know her, cannot possibly be its ultimate word to man. Either there is no Spirit revealed in nature or else it is inadequately revealed there".⁶⁹ The supernatural revelation, indeed, presupposes and rests upon the natural revelation. The supernatural is not unnatural or contranatural; it interprets more clearly the message of "the blowing clover and the falling rain". The special revela-

⁶⁸ Gordon, *Op. cit.*, p. 154.

⁶⁹ W. James : *Will to Believe*, pp. 43, 44.

tion does not obscure but makes clearer the natural revelation. It comes not to destroy but to fulfill.

A theistic view of the world, if it is to be of any religious value, must contain and exalt the doctrine of God's love. But "to say that God is love", Professor Royce somewhere says, "is to say that He is or will be incarnate". From the standpoint of the love of God the incarnation is the appropriate and we might almost say necessary expression of the divine order. If, as theism teaches, God has shown His purpose to reveal Himself to man, and has done so in divers portions and manners in nature, history, and in the mind and conscience of man, it is not strange that the crowning revelation of the Personal—of the heart of God—should be itself a Person. And from such a person we should expect not only a moral majesty in His character, and a fountain of grace and truth in His words, but in response to the cry of human need a limitless outflow of sympathy and power. It may ultimately appear that if we are to remain the true children of Abraham we must believe that God raised up Jesus and gave Him glory; and that in short the interests not only of Christianity but even of theism are vitally bound up with belief, in the broad sense, in the miraculous, as a bulwark against the irreligion of a mechanical universe from which God is excluded, and the moral indifference of a pantheistic universe with which God is exhaustively identified.

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"SCRIPTURE", "THE SCRIPTURES", IN THE NEW TESTAMENT¹.

The scope of this article does not permit the full discussion in it of the employment of Scripture, or of the estimate put upon Scripture, by either our Lord or the writers of the New Testament. It is strictly limited to what is necessary to exhibit the use of the terms 'Scripture', 'The Scriptures', in the New Testament and the more immediate implications of this use.

This use was an inheritance, not an invention. The idea of a 'canon' of 'Sacred Scriptures', and, with the idea, the 'canon' itself were derived by Christianity from Judaism. The Jews possessed a body of writings, consisting of 'Law, Prophets and (other) Scriptures (K'thubhim)', though they were often called for brevity's sake merely 'the Law and the Prophets' or even simply 'the Law'. These 'Sacred Scriptures' (כְּתָבֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ),—or, as they were very frequently pregnantly called, this 'Scripture' (הַכְּתִיב), or these 'Books' (סְפָרִים) or, even sometimes, in the singular, this 'Book' (הַסֵּפֶר)—were looked upon as all drawing their origin from divine inspiration and as possessed in all their extent of divine authority. Whatever stood written in them was a word of God, and was therefore referred to indifferently as something which 'the Scripture says' (אוֹסֵר הַכְּתִיב אוֹ אָמַר קִרְא) or 'the All-merciful says' (אָמַר רַחֲמָנָא), or even simply 'He says' (הוּא אָמַר) or merely (וְאָמַר)—that God is the speaker being too fully understood to require explicit expression. Every precept or dogma was supposed to be grounded in Scriptural teaching, and possessed authority only as buttressed by a Scriptural passage, introduced com-

¹ A condensation of this article was published in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, sub voc. "Scripture." It has been thought desirable after this interval to print the entire article.

monly by one of the formulas, 'for it is said' (שנאמר), or 'as it is written' (כרבתב or כרתב), though of course a great variety of less frequently occurring similar formulas of adduction are found².

Greek-speaking Jews naturally tended merely to reproduce in their new language the designations and forms of adduction of the sacred books current among their compatriots. This process was no doubt facilitated by the existence among the Greeks themselves of a pregnant legislative use of *γράφω*, *γραφή*, *γράμμα*, in which they were already freighted with a certain implication of authority³. But it is very easy to make too much of this (as *e. g.*, Deissmann does), and the simple fact should not be obscured that the Greek-speaking Jews follow the usage of the Jews in general. It may no doubt very possibly be due in part to his Graecizing tendencies that the Scriptures are spoken of by Josephus apparently with predilection as the "Sacred Books" (*ἱερὰ βιβλοι* or *ἱερὰ βιβλία*) or "Sacred Scriptures" (*ἱερὰ γράμματα*) or more fully still as the "Books of the Sacred Scriptures" (*αἱ ἱερῶν γραφῶν βιβλοι*); and quoted with the formula *γέγραπται* or more frequently *αναγέγραπται*—all of which are forms which would be familiar to Greek ears, with a general implication of authority⁴. Perhaps, however, the influence of the Greek usage is more clearly traceable in certain passages of the LXX in which *γραφή* may

² Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus, etc.*, Ed. 1, I. p. 187, note 2; *cf.*, in general, Surenhusius, ספר הכשר *sive* βίβλος καταλλαγῆς (1713), pp. 1-36; Döpke, *Hermeneutik der NT. Schriftsteller* (1829), I. pp. 60-69; Pinner, Translation of the Tract *Berachoth*, Introd. p. 21b; Zunz, *Gottesdienstliche Vorträge der Juden*, p. 44; Weber, *Jüdische Theologie* (1897) § 20, p. 80 sq.; Schürer, *Jewish People* II. i. p. 311; Buhl, *Canon and Text*, § 2; Ryle, *Canon of O. T.*, Excursus E.

³ *Cf.* the passages in the Lexicons, and especially in Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 112, 249, and Cremer, *Biblico-Theol. Lex.* sub vocc. especially the later edd.

⁴ *Cf.* Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 149, note 4. For Josephus' use of Scripture, in general, see Gerlach, *Die Weissagungen d. A T in d. Schrift. d. F. Josephus* (1863), and Dienstfertig, *Die Prophetologie in d. Religionsphilosophie d. ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts* (1892), the latter of whom discusses Philo's ideas of Scripture also.

seem to hover between the pregnant Greek sense of authoritative 'ordinance', and the pregnant Hebrew sense of authoritative 'Scripture'. When, for example, we read in I Chron. xv. 15, "And the sons of the Levites took upon themselves with staves the Ark of God, ὡς ἐνετείλατο Μωσῆς ἐν λόγῳ θεοῦ κατὰ τὴν γραφήν," we scarcely know whether we are to translate the κατὰ τὴν γραφήν (which has no equivalent in the Hebrew) by "according to the precept", or by "according to the Scriptures". Something of the same hesitancy is felt with reference to the similar passages: II Chron. xxx. 5, "Because the multitude had not done it lately κατὰ τὴν γραφήν" (= בְּכִתְּבֵי); II Chron. xxx. 18, "But they ate the passover παρὰ τὴν γραφήν" (= בְּכִתְּבֵי אֲכָלָה); II Esdr. vi. 18, "And they established the priests in their courses and the Levites in their divisions for the service of God in Jerusalem, κατὰ τὴν γραφήν βίβλου Μωυσῆ" (= בְּכִתְּבֵי מִשְׁפַּר מִשְׁפָּה); I Chron. xxviii. 19, "All these things David gave to Solomon ἐν γραφῇ χειρὸς κυρίου" (= בְּכִתְּבֵי יְהוָה); II Chron. xxxv. 4, "Prepare yourselves . . . κατὰ τὴν γραφήν Δαυὶδ . . . καὶ διὰ χειρὸς Σαλωμών" (= בְּכִתְּבֵי דָוִד וּבְכִתְּבֵי שְׁלֹמֹה); I Esdr. i. 4, "κατὰ τὴν γραφήν Δαυὶδ" κτλ; and especially the very instructive passage II Esdr. vii. 22, "For which there is no γραφή." Similarly in II Esdr. iii. 2, "κατὰ τὰ γεγραμμένα (= בְּכִתְּבֵי) in the law of Moses," τὰ γεγραμμένα might very well appeal to a Greek ear as simply "the prescriptions"; and there are a series of passages in which γέγραπται might very readily be taken in the Greek sense of "it is prescribed", such as Josh. ix. 4, (viii. 31), II Kings xiv. 6, xxiii. 21, II Chron. xxiii. 18, xxv. 4, Neh. x. 34, (35), 35, (37), Tob. i. 6. Should this interpretation be put on these passages, there would be left in the LXX little unalloyed trace of the peculiar Jewish usage of pregnantly referring to Scripture as such by that term, and citing it with the authoritative 'It is written'. For clear instances of the former usage we should have to go to IV Macc. xviii. 14, and of the latter to Dan. ix. 13, and to

the Greek additions to Job (xlii. 18).⁵ Philo on the other hand is absolutely determined in his usage by his inherited Jewish habits of thought. With him the Sacred books are by predilection a body of divine Oracles and are designated ordinarily either *ὁ λόγος* with various adjectival enhancements—‘prophetic’, ‘divine’, ‘sacred’—or, perhaps even more commonly, “the Oracles”, or even “the Oracle”, (*οἱ χρησμοί, τὰ λόγια, ὁ χρησμός, τὸ λόγιον*, or even possibly the anarthrous *χρησμός, λόγιον*); and are adduced (as is also most frequently the case in the Mishna, *cf.* Edersheim as cited) rather with the formula, “As it is said”, than with the “As it is written” which would more naturally convey to Greek ears the sense of authoritative declarations. Of course Philo also speaks on occasion (for this too is a truly Jewish mode of speech) of these “Oracles” as “the Sacred Books” (*ἱερὰ βιβλοι, De Vita Moysis*, iii. 23, Mangey ii. 163; *Quod det. pot. insid.* 44, Mangey i. 222), or as “the Sacred Scriptures” (*αἱ ἱερώταται γραφαί, De Abrah.* i, Mangey ii. 2; *ἱερὰ γραφαί. Quis rerum div. heres.* 32, Mangey i. 495; *τὰ ἱερὰ γράμματα, Legat. ad Caium*, 29, Mangey ii. 574); and adduces them with the pregnant *γέγραπται*. But the comparative infrequency of these designations in his pages is very noticeable⁶.

What it is of importance especially to note is that there was nothing left for Christianity to invent in the way of designating the Sacred Books taken over from the Jewish Church pregnantly as “Scripture”, and currently adducing their authority with the pregnant ‘It is written’. The Christian writers merely continued in their entirety the established usages of the Synagogue in this matter, already prepared to

⁵ IV Macc. xviii. 14, “And he reminded you of Ἡσαίου γραφήν which says, Though you pass through fire, &c.”; Dan. ix. 13, “Καθὼς γέγραπται in the law of Moses, all this evil is come upon us”; Job xlii. 18, “And Job died an old man and full of days, γέγραπται δὲ that he shall rise again along with those whom the Lord will raise.”

⁶ Philo’s designations of Scripture have been collected by Horne-mann, *Observationes ad illustr. doctr. de V. T. ex Philone* (1775); more briefly by Eichhorn, *Einleitung in d. A. T.*; and less satisfactorily by Ryle, *Philo and Holy Scripture. Cf. The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, x. 504 (July, 1899) and xi. 235 (April, 1900).

their hands in Hebrew and Greek alike. There is probably not a single mode of alluding to or citing Scripture in all the New Testament which does not find its exact parallel among the Rabbis⁷. The New Testament so far evinces itself a thoroughly Jewish book. The several terms made use of in it, to be sure, as it was natural they should be, are employed with some sensitiveness to their inherent implications as Greek words; and the Greek legislative use of some of them gave them no doubt peculiar fitness for the service asked of them, and lent them a special significance to Gentile readers. But the application made of them by the New Testament writers nevertheless has its roots set in the soil of Jewish thought, from which they derive a fuller and deeper meaning than their most pregnant classical usage could accord them. Among these terms those which more particularly claim our attention at the moment are the two substantives *γραφή* and *γράμμα*, with their various qualifications, and the cognate verbal forms employed in citing writings pregnantly designated by these substantives. There is nothing in the New Testament usage of these terms peculiar to itself; and throughout the New Testament any differences that may be observed in their employment by the several writers are indicative merely of varying habits of speech within the limits of one well-settled general usage.

To the New Testament writers as to other Jews, the Sacred Books of what was in their circle now called the Old Covenant (II Cor. iii. 14), described according to their contents as "the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms" (Lk. xxiv. 44)—or more briefly as "the Law and the Prophets" (Mt. vii. 12, Lk. xvi. 16, *cf.* Acts xxviii. 23, Lk. xvi. 29-31) or merely as "the Law" (Jno. x. 34, I Cor. xiv. 21) or even "the Prophets", (Rom. xvi. 26),⁸—were, when thought of

⁷ This has been shown in detail by, for example, Surenhusius and Döpke, as cited above.

⁸ Sometimes the whole is spoken of, in accordance with its character as revelation, as "prophetical Scriptures" or "the Scriptures of the prophets" (*cf.* Mat. ii. 23, xi. 13, xxvi. 56; Lk. i. 70, xviii. 31, xxiv. 25, 27; Acts iii. 24, xiii. 27; Rom. i. 2, xvi. 26).

according to their nature, a body of "Sacred Scriptures" (Rom. i. 2, II Tim. iii. 16), or, with the omission of the unnecessary because well-understood adjective, by way of eminence, "the Scriptures", "the Scripture", "Scripture", (Mat. xxii. 29, Jno. x. 35, I Pet. ii. 6). For employment in this designation, either of the substantives, *γραφὴ* or *γράμμα*, would apparently have been available; although of course with slightly differing suggestions arising from the differing implications of the forms and the respective general usages of the words. In Philo and Josephus the more usual of the two in this application is *γράμμα*, or, to speak more exactly, *γράμματα*,— for although *γράμμα* is sometimes in later Greek so employed in the singular⁹ it is in the plural that this term most properly denotes that congeries of alphabetical signs which constitutes a book (*cf.* Latin, *literae*). In the New Testament on the contrary, this form is rare. The complete phrase, *ἱερὰ γράμματα*, which is found also both in Josephus (*e. g.* *Antt. proem.* 3; iii. 7, 6; x. 10, 4; xiii. 5, 8) and in Philo (*e. g.*, *De Vita Moys.* i. 2, *Legat. ad Caium*, 29) occurs in II Tim. iii. 15 as the current title of the Sacred Books, freighted with all its implications as such, or rather with those implications emphasized by its anarthrous employment, and particularly adverted to in the immediate context (verse 16).¹⁰ Elsewhere in the New Testament, however, *γράμματα* scarcely occurs as a designation of Scripture. In Jno. v. 47, "But if ye believe not his (Moses') writings, how shall ye believe my (Jesus')

⁹ Strabo, *Geog.* i. 7, "Hecataeus left a *γράμμα* believed to be his from his other *γραφὴ*." Callimachus, *Epigr.* xxiv. 4, "Plato's τὸ περὶ ψυχῆς *γράμμα*". In the Church Fathers τὸ θεῖον (or ἱερὸν) *γράμμα* occurs frequently for "Holy Scripture," *e. g.* Greg. Thaum. in *Orig. orat. paneg.* VI. *ad fin.*; Epiph. *Adv. Hær.* III, ii. (lxxx. A.); Cyr. Al. *Epistula* 50 (formerly 44): in Cyr. Al. *De Adver.* p. 44, the N. T. is the νέον *γράμμα*; in Eus. *h. e.* x. 4*fin.*, τῶν τεττάρων εὐαγγελίων τὸ *γράμμα* is the Gospels, etc.

¹⁰ H. Holtzmann accordingly accurately comments on this passage: "The writer shares the Jewish view of the purely supernatural origin of Scripture in its strictest form, according to which 'theopneustie' is ascribed directly to the Scriptures." (*N. T. Theologie* ii. 261).

words?" to be sure we must needs hesitate before we refuse to give to it this its most pregnant sense, especially since there appears to be an implication present that it would be more reprehensible to refuse trust to these "writings" of Moses than to the "words" of Jesus Himself. But on the whole, the tendency of the most recent exegesis to see in "his writings" here little more than another way of saying "what he wrote," seems justified. The only other passage which can come into consideration is Jno. vii. 15, "How knoweth this man *γράμματα*, not having learned?" in which some commentators still see a reference to "the *ἱερὰ γράμματα* (II Tim. iii. 15) from which the Jewish *γραμματεῖς* derived their title" (Th. Zahn, *Einleitung*, ii. 99). Most readers, however, doubtless will agree that "letters" in general are more naturally meant (*cf.* Acts xxvi. 24 and Meyer's judicious note).¹¹ Practically, therefore, *γράμμα* is eliminated; and *γραφή*, *γραφαί*, in their varied uses, remain the sole terms employed in the New Testament in the sense of "Scripture", "Scriptures".

This term, in singular or plural, occurs in the New Testament some fifty times (Gospels twenty-three, Acts seven, Catholic Epistles six, Paul fourteen) and in every case bears the technical sense in which it refers to the Scriptures by way of eminence, the Scriptures of the Old Testament. This statement requires only such modification as is involved in noting that from II Pet. iii. 16 (*cf.* I Tim. v. 18) it becomes apparent that the New Testament writers were perfectly aware that the term "Scripture" in its high sense was equally applicable to their own writings as to the books included in the Old Testament; or, to be more precise, that it included within itself along with the writings which

¹¹ For the currency of this sense, *cf.* G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, p. 58, where commenting on the phrase *μὴ ἰδὸτος γράμματα*, he remarks: "The phrase occurs in countless papyrus documents written either in whole or in part by a scribe on behalf of the 'unlettered' author. *Cf.* the use of the corresponding adjective *ἀγράμματος* in Acts iv. 13 (*cf.* Jo. vii. 15, Ac. xxvi. 24)='unacquainted with literature or Rabbinical learning'."

constituted the Old Testament those also which they were producing, as sharing with the Old Testament books the high functions of the authoritative written word of God.¹² No modification needs to be made for the benefit of the few passages in which words are adduced as Scriptural which are not easily identified in the Old Testament text.¹³ The only passages which come strictly under consideration here are Jno. vii. 38 and Jas. iv. 5, to which may be added as, essentially of the same kind (although the term *γραφη* does not occur in connection with them), I Cor. ii. 9, and Lk. ix. 49. It is enough to remark as to these passages that, however difficult it may be to identify with certainty the passages referred to, there is no reason to doubt that Old Testament passages were in mind and were intended to be referred to in every case (see Mayor on Jas. iv. 5, and *cf.* Lightfoot on I Cor. ii. 9, Westcott on Jno. vii. 38, Godet on Lk. xi. 49). In twenty out of the fifty instances in which *γραφῆς*, *γραφαί* occur in the New Testament, it is the plural form which is employed: and in all these cases except two the article is present,—*αἱ γραφαί* the well-known Scriptures of the Jewish people, or rather of the writer and his readers alike. The two exceptions, moreover, are exceptions in appearance only, since in both cases adjectival definitions are present, raising *γραφαί* to the same height to which the article would have elevated it, and giving it the value of a proper name (*γραφαὶ ἁγίαί*, Ro. i. 2, here first in extant literature; *γραφαὶ προφητικαί*, Ro. xvi. 26). The singular form occurs some thirty times, and likewise with the article in every instance except these four: John xix. 37 'another Scripture'; II Tim. iii. 16 'every

¹² On the significance of the plural *αἱ γραφαί* in 2 Pet. iii. 16, see below, p. 578. There is no justification for attempting to lower the high implication of the term here (e. g. Huther, Spitta, Mayor in loc., Ladd *Doct. of Sacred Scripture*, I. p. 211, note). The inclusion of New Testament books within the category of 'Scripture' is witnessed also in 1 Tim. v. 18, Ep. Barnabas iv. 14, 2 Clem. Rom. ii. 4, and in the later Fathers *passim*. It is as early as literary Christianity.

¹³ See them in Hühn, *Die alttestamentlichen Citate*, 270.

Scripture', or 'all Scripture'; I Pet. ii. 6 'it is contained in Scripture'; II Pet. i. 20 'no prophecy of Scripture'. Here too the exceptions, obviously, are only apparent, the noun being definite in every case whether by the effect of its adjunct, or as the result of its use as a quasi-proper-name. The distribution of the singular and plural forms is perhaps worth noting. In Acts the singular (3) and plural (4) occur with almost equal frequency: the plural prevails in the Synoptic Gospels (Mat. plural only; Mk. plural 2 to 1; Lk. 3 to 1), while the singular prevails in the rest of the New Testament (Jno. 11 to 1; James 3 to 1; Peter 2 to 1, Paul 9 to 5). In the Gospels, the plural form occurs exclusively in Matthew, prevailing in Mark and Luke, and rarely in John, of whom the singular is characteristic. The usage of the Gospels in detail is as follows: αἱ γραφαί Mt. xxi. 42, xxii. 29, xxvi. 34, 56, Mk. xii. 24, xix. 49, Lk. xxiv. 27, 32, 45, Jno. v. 39; ἡ γραφή, Mk. xii. 10, Lk. iv. 21, Jno. ii. 22, vii. 38, 42, x. 35, xiii. 18, xvii. 12, xix. 24, 28, 36, xx. 9; anarthrous γραφή, Jno. xix. 37 (but with ἐτέρα). No distinction is traceable between the usage of the Evangelists themselves and that of the Lord as reported by them. Matthew and Mark do not on their own account use the term at all, but only report it as used by our Lord: in Luke and John on the other hand it occurs not only in reports of our Lord's sayings (Lk. iv. 21, Jno. v. 39, vii. 38, iv. 2, x. 35, viii. 18, xvii. 12), and of the sayings of others (Lk. xxiv. 32), but also in the narrative of the Evangelists (Lk. xxiv. 27, 45, Jno. ii. 22, xix. 24, xix. 28, 36, 37, xx. 9). To our Lord is ascribed the use indifferently of the plural (Mat. xxi. 42, xxii. 49, xxvi. 54, 56, Mk. xii. 24, xiv. 49, Jno. v. 39) and the singular (Mk. xii. 10, Lk. iv. 21, Jno. vii. 38, 42, x. 35, xiii. 18, xvii. 12), and that in all the forms of application in which the term occurs in the Gospels. So far as His usage of the term "Scripture" is concerned, our Lord is represented by the Evangelists, thus, as occupying precisely the same standpoint and employing precisely the same forms of designation, with precisely the same impli-

cations, which characterized the devout Jewish usage of His day. "Jesus", says B. Weiss, therefore, with substantial truth, "acknowledged the Scriptures of the Old Testament in their entire extent and their complete sacredness. 'The Scripture cannot be broken', He says (Jno. x. 35) and forthwith grounds His argument upon its language"¹⁴.

That we may gather the precise significance of ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί, as a designation of the Scriptures, it will be well to attend somewhat more closely to the origin of the term in Greek speech and to the implications it gathered to itself in its application to literary documents. Its history in its literary application does not seem to have been precisely the same as that of its congener, τὸ γράμμα, τὰ γράμματα. Γράμμα appears to have become current first in this reference as the appropriate appellation of an alphabetical sign, and to have grown gradually upward from this lowly employment to designate a document of less or greater extent, because such documents are ultimately made up of alphabetical signs. Although, therefore, the singular, τὸ γράμμα, came to be used of any written thing—from a simple alphabetical character up to complete works, or even unitary combinations of works, like the Scriptures,—it is apparently when applied to writings, most naturally employed of brief pieces like short inscriptions or proverbs, or to the shorter portions of documents such as the clauses of treaties, and the

¹⁴ *Das Leben Jesu*, I. 441-442, E. T. II. 62-63. Cf. Haupt, *Die alttest. Citate in d. vier Evang.* pp. 203, 201-2: "We recognize first what no doubt scarcely requires proof, that Jesus treats the Old Testament in its entirety as the Word of God. Down to the smallest letter and most casual word (Mt. v. 18; Jno. x. 34) it is to Him truth, and that, religious truth." "An isolated expression of precisely the book most subjective in its character in the whole canon is made use of and applied as meeting the case." Cf. also Franke, *Das Alt-Test. bei Johan.* pp. 46, 48; H. Holtzmann, *N. T. Theologie*, I. 115, 45; P. Gennrich, *Der Kampf um die Schrift*, &c. 1898, p. 72: "In this late-Jewish, wholly unhistorical tradition, Jesus himself and the oldest Christian authors were brought up; for them the whole Old Testament literature is already inspired (θεόπνευστος 2 Tim. iii. 16), every word, even those of the Psalms and of the Historical Books, an oracle."

like; although it is also used of those longer formal sections of literary works which are more commonly designated technically "Books". It is rather the plural, τὰ γράμματα, which seems to suggest itself most readily not only for extended treatises, but indeed for complete documents of all kinds. When so employed, the plural form is accordingly not to be pressed. Such a phrase as "Moses' γράμματα" (Jno. v. 47) for example, need not imply that Moses wrote more than one "work"; it would rather mass whatever 'writings' of Moses are in mind into a single 'writing', and would most naturally mean just, say, "the Pentateuch". Such a phrase as *ἱερὰ γράμματα* (II Tim. iii. 15), again, need not bring the Old Testament books before our contemplation in their plurality, as a "Divine library"; but more probably conceives them together in the mass, as constituting a single sacred document, thought of as a unitary whole. On the other hand, γραφή, in its literary application, seems to have sprung somewhat lightly across the intervening steps, to designate which γράμμα is most appropriately used, and to have been carried at once over from the 'writing' in the sense of the script to the 'writing' in the sense of the scripture or document. Although therefore it of course exhibits more applications parallel with those of γράμμα than of any other term, its true synonymy in its higher literary use is rather with such terms as ἡ βίβλος (τὸ βιβλίον) and ὁ λόγος, in common with which it most naturally designates a complete literary piece, whether "Treatise" or "Book". Each of these terms, of course, preserves in all its applications something of the flavor of the primitive conception which was bound up with it. When thought of from the material point of view, as, so to say, so much paper, or, to speak more respectfully, from the point of sight of its extent, a literary work was apt therefore to be spoken as a βίβλος (βιβλίον). When thought of as a rational product, thought presented in words, it was apt to be spoken of as a λόγος. Intermediate between the two stood γραφή (γράμμα) which was apt to come to the lips when the work was thought of

as, so to speak, so much 'writing'. As between the two terms, *γραφή* and *γράμμα*, Dr. Westcott (on Jno. v. 47) suggests that the latter 'marks rather the specific form,' the former 'the scope of the record'; and this seems so far just that to *γράμμα* there clings a strong flavor of the 'letters' of which the document is made up, while *γραφή* looks rather to the completeness of the 'scripture'. To both alike so much of the implication of specific form clings as to lend them naturally to national and legislative employment with the implication of the "certa scriptio".¹⁵ To put the general matter in a nut-shell, *βίβλος* (*βιβλίον*) may perhaps be said to be the more exact word for the 'book'; *γραφή* (*γράμμα*) for the 'document' inscribed in the 'book'; *λόγος* for the 'treatise' which the 'document' records; while as between *γραφή* and *γράμμα*, *γράμμα*, preserving the stronger material flavor, gravitates somewhat towards *βίβλος* (*βιβλίον*) while *γραφή* looks somewhat upwards towards *λόγος*. When in the development of the publishers' trade, the "great-book-system" of making books gave way for the purposes of convenience to the "small-book-system", and long works came to be broken up into "Books", each of which constituted a 'volume',¹⁶ these "Books" attached to themselves this whole series of designations and were called alike,—in each case with its own appropriate implications—*βίβλοι*, (*βιβλία*), *γραφαί* (*γράμματα*) and *λόγοι*: *βίβλοι* (*βιβλία*) because each book was written on a separate roll of papyrus and constituted one 'paper' or 'volume'; *γραφαί* (*γράμματα*) because each book was a separate document, a distinct 'scripture'; and *λόγοι* because each book was a distinct 'discourse' or rational work.

¹⁵ We meet the two words in a single context in Strabo, *Geog.* I. 7 (Ed. Didot, p. 5, line 50, *seq.*) where we are told that Hecataeus "left a *γράμμα* which is believed to be his *ἐξ ἄλλης αὐτοῦ γραφῆς*." Here *γράμμα* appears to be used where the mind is on the concrete object, and *γραφή* where it rests rather on the contents: that is, *γράμμα* seems to reach down towards *βίβλος* (*βιβλίον*), *γραφή* upwards towards *λόγος*. Does the singular *γραφή* bear here a plural or "collective" sense (Latin version: *ex ceteris ejus scriptis*)?

¹⁶ Cf. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 479.

Smaller sections than these "Books" were properly called *περιοχάς, τόπους, χωρία, γράμματα* (which last is the appropriate word for 'clauses'), but very seldom if ever in the classics, *γραφάς*.¹⁷

The current senses of these several terms are of course more or less reflected as they occur in the pages of the New Testament. In the case of some of them, the New Testament usage simply continues that of profane Greek; in the case of others, new implications enter in which, while not superseding, profoundly modify their fundamental significance; in yet other cases, there is a development of usage beyond what is traceable in profane Greek. The passages in which two or more of the terms in question are brought together are, naturally, especially instructive. When we read, for example, in Lk. iii. 4 *seq.* *ὡς γέγραπται ἐν βιβλῳ λόγων Ἰσαΐου τοῦ προφήτου*, we perceive at once that what is quoted is a body of *λόγοι* which are found in written form (*γραφή* : cf. I Cor. xv. 54, *ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος*) in a *βιβλος* : the *βιβλος* is the volume which contains the *γραφή*, which conveys or, perhaps better, records the *λόγοι*. So again when we read in Lk. iv. 17 *sq.* that there was delivered to our Lord the *βιβλίον* of Isaiah, on opening which he found the *τόπον*, where a given thing *ἦν γεγραμμένον*, and then closing the *βιβλίον* he remarked *ἡ γραφή αὐτῇ* is fulfilled in your ears, we perceive that the *βιβλίον* is the concrete volume—a thing to be handled, opened and closed (cf. Rev. ii. 3, 4, 5, x. 8, xx. 12), the manner of opening and closing being of course unrolling and rolling (Rev. vi. 14, cf. Heb. xii. 2, x. 7, Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 116); and that the *γραφή* is the document written in this *βιβλίον*; while the various parts of this *γραφή* are formally *τόποι*, or when attention is directed to their essential quality as sharers in the authority of the whole, *γραφαί* (cf. Acts i. 16, "The *γραφή* which the Holy Spirit spake through the mouth of" the writer).

¹⁷ Cf., however, Eur. *Hipp.* 1311, where Phaedra is said to have written *ψευδεῖς γραφάς* which may mean "false statements".

As might be inferred from these examples, *βιβλος* and *βιβλίον* retain in the New Testament their current significations in profane Greek. Their application to sacred rather than to secular books in no way modified their general sense.¹⁸ It brought, however, to them a richness of association which prepared the way for that pregnant employment of them—beginning not indeed in the New Testament but in even earlier Hellenistic writings—to designate in its simple absoluteness the sacred volume, from which ultimately our common term "The Bible" is supposed to have descended.¹⁹ Throughout the New Testament the *βιβλος* or *βιβλίον* when applied to literary entities is just the "volume", that is to say, the concrete object, the "book" in the handleable sense. When we read of the *βιβλος* of the words of Isaiah (Lk. iii. 4), or of Moses (Mk. xii. 26) or of the Psalms (Lk. xx. 42, Acts i. 20) or of the Prophets, i. e., of the Twelve "Minor Prophets" (Acts vii. 42), the meaning is simply that each of these writings or collections of writings formed a single volume.²⁰ Similarly when we read of the *βιβλίον* of Isaiah (Lk. iv. 17) or of the Law (Gal. iii. 10), what is meant in each case is the volume formed by the document or documents named. The Gospel of John (Jno.

¹⁸ They may, of course, be applied even in profane Greek to "sacred" books. Thus a magical formula among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri (Grenfell & Hunt, *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vi. p. 100, &c.) represents itself as an ἀντίγραφον ἱερᾶς βίβλου.

¹⁹ Αἱ βίβλοι (=𐤁𐤏𐤃𐤇𐤏) used absolutely, for the Old Testament as a whole, occurs in Dan. ix. 2 (cf. Driver in loc.). Ἡ βίβλος absolutely for the Old Testament as a whole occurs first, apparently, in the *Letter of Aristaeus* § 316 (cf. Thackeray, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1903, p. 391). τὰ βιβλία absolutely of the Old Testament as a whole apparently occurs first in 2 Clem. xiv. 2 (cf. Lightfoot in loco). It has been customary to say that from the time of Chrysostom (*Hom. 9 in Coloss.*, *Hom. 10 in Genesin*) τὰ βιβλία occurs absolutely for the Scriptures as a whole (cf. Suicer, *Thesaur. Eccles.* I. 687, 696; Reuss, *Hist. of the New Testament*, § 320, E. T., p. 326). This usage is already found, however, in Clement Alex. and in Origen (ed. Lommatsch. i. 607). On the general subject see the detached note at the end of this article on the terms 'Bible', 'Holy Bible' (page 596).

²⁰ Cf. Birt, *Das antike Buchwesen*, 478-481, and especially Jerome, *Praef. Psal.* and *Ep. ad Manet.* as cited by Birt.

xx. 30, xxi 25) and the Book of Revelation (Rev. i. 11, xxii. 7, 9, 10, 18, 19) are spoken of as each a *βιβλίον* again because each existed in separation as a concrete unity. Accordingly *βιβλοι* are things which may be burned (Acts xix. 19); *βιβλία*, things which may be sprinkled (Heb. ix. 19) or carried about (II Tim. iv. 13), and may be made of parchment (II Tim. iv. 13). The Book of Life presented itself to the imagination as a volume in which names may be inscribed (*βίβλος*, Phil. iv. 3, Rev. iii. 5, xx. 15; *βιβλίον*, Rev. xiii. 8, xvii. 8, xx. 12, xxi. 27); the Book of Destiny as a volume in which is set down what is to come to pass (*βιβλίον*, Heb. x. 7, Rev. v. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, x. 8). There is no essential difference in fundamental implication when in Mt. xix. 7, Mk. x. 4 *βιβλίον* is used for a "bill" of divorcement, or in Mt. i. 1, *βίβλος*, under the influence of the LXX, is employed of a genealogical register. In both instances it would be understood that the document in question occupied a separate piece of papyrus or parchment and was therefore an entire "paper".

There is a much more marked enhancement of sense apparent in the New Testament use of *λόγος*. In Acts i. 1, to be sure, it occurs in the simple classical sense of "Book"; Luke merely points to his Gospel as "the first Book" of an extended historical treatise of which Acts is "the second Book"; and there is no implication of deeper meaning. The ordinary usage of *λόγος*, however, in the New Testament, is to express, in accordance with its employment in the Old Testament of the Prophetic word, the, or a, revelation from God, with no, or a very indistinct, reference to a written form. The Divine Word was, however, in the hands of the New Testament writers in a written form and allusion to this could not always fail. In passages like Jno. xv. 25, I Cor. xv. 54, the *λόγος* that is cited is distinctly declared to be written: "that the *λόγος* may be fulfilled that is written in their Law"; "then shall come to pass the *λόγος* that is written"; and with these there may be connected such passages as Jno. xii. 38, (*cf.* Lk. iv. 6): "that the word of Isaiah the prophet

might be fulfilled", since, although it is not expressly stated, this λόγος too was in the hands of the New Testament writers in a written form. In this usage λόγος is a particular passage of Scripture viewed as a divine declaration. In Mat. xv. 6 (if this reading be accepted), Mk. vii. 13 (*cf.* Jno. x. 35, v. 38, Rom. xiii. 9, Gal. v. 14) in accordance with a familiar usage (*cf.* Ex. xxxiv. 28, οἱ δέκα λόγοι), the specific reference is to a divine commandment; but this commandment is thrown up in sharp contrast with "tradition" and is thought of distinctly as a written one. It is only in a passage like II Pet. i. 19 that λόγος comes to mean the entire Old Testament, after the fashion of Philo,^{20a} with the emphasis upon its divine character: that by "the prophetic word" here is meant not the prophetic portion of Scripture but the Scriptures as a whole, conceived in accordance with their nature as "prophetic", that is to say as a body of revelation, is made plain by the subsequent context, where this prophecy is defined by the exegetical genitive as just that prophecy which is Scripture *πᾶσα προφητεία γραφῆς*). Thus λόγος, under the influence of the Old Testament usage of the "Word of Jehovah," comes to mean in the New Testament specifically a divine revelation, and is applied to the Old Testament to designate it, as written in the Books which constitute it, the revealed Word of God.²¹

The λόγος, now, which was contained in the βιβλος (βιβλίον) (Lk. iii. 4), and of course contained in it only in written form, was, naturally, conceived, as truly by the New Testament writers as by Greek writers in general, as a *γραφῆ*, (or in the plural *γραφαί*). There seems to be no reason inherent in the case, accordingly, why *γραφῆ* should

^{20a} *E. g. De Plantat. Noe*, 28, Mangey I. 347: "The prophetic word (ὁ προφητικὸς λόγος) seems to dignify the number four often throughout the νομοθεσία, and especially in the catalogue of the creation of the universe."

²¹ This idea is still more emphatically expressed by the kindred term *λόγια*, Rom. iii. 2, *cf.* Heb. v. 12, Acts vii. 38, the current use of which in this sense by Philo is adverted to above (p. 563, note 6). See *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review* for April 1900, pp. 217 sq.

not occur in the New Testament in its simple classical sense of a "Treatise" or (as *λόγος* does, Acts i. 1) of a "Book" or formal division of a treatise. It may very properly be considered therefore merely an accident that no instances are found in the New Testament of this general usage of the term without further implications.²² It so occurs in Josephus (*Antt.* III. viii. 10; IV. viii. 44, of books of his own) and in Philo (*De Somniis*, ad init., 'Η μὲν οὖν πρὸ ταύτης *γραφὴ περιείχε*—i. e., the preceding Book of the Treatise in hand); and it is repeatedly used in the LXX to designate any piece of writing (*cf.* II Chron. ii. 11, Neh. vii. 64, Danl. v. 1, II Macc. xiv. 22, 48). In point of fact, however, *γραφὴ* (*γραφαί*) appears in the New Testament only in its application to the Sacred Scriptures, and only in its high technical significance of "Scripture" by way of eminence. It may be surmised that the long-established employment of the term as a designation of the Scriptures tended to withdraw it from common use on the lips of those to whom these Scriptures were a thing apart. It may even seem that a certain tendency is observable in the New Testament writers to distinguish between *γραφὴ* (*γραφαί*) and *γράμμα* (*γράμματα*) in favor of the former as the technical designation of the Scripture, while the latter is more freely employed for general uses. Certainly *γράμματα* occurs occasionally in the New Testament for non-sacred writings (Acts xxviii. 21, Lk. xiii. 6, 7) and for sacred writings indeed but without stress on their sacredness (Jno. v. 47, *cf.* vii. 15), while it is only rarely met with in the pregnant sense of Scripture (II Tim. iii. 15 only) and then only in an established phrase which may be supposed to have obtained a standing of its own. There seems also in *γράμμα* a naturally stronger implication of the material elements of the script, which may have formed the point of departure for a depreciatory employment of the term to designate the "mere letter" as distinguished from the "spirit" (*cf.* Rom. ii. 27,

²² *Cf.* Zahn, *Einleitung*, II. 99, 108, note 12.

29, vii. 6, II Cor. iii. 6, 7). On the other hand the free employment by later Christian writers of *γραφή*, *γραφαί* of secular compositions, and of both *γράμμα* and *γράμματα* in the high technical sense of "Scripture", so far militates against the supposition that already in New Testament Greek the former were hardening into the exclusive technical designations of "Scripture". Meanwhile the simple fact remains that in the New Testament while *γράμματα* is used freely, and with a single exception exclusively, without implication of sacredness, *γραφή* and *γραφαί* are employed solely as technical designations of Sacred Scripture and take their color in all their occurrences from this higher plane of usage. Throughout the New Testament the *γραφή* which alone is in question is conceived as rather the word of the Holy Spirit than of its human authors *through* whom merely it is spoken (Acts i. 16), and is therefore ever adduced as of indefectible, because of Divine, authority.

It is somewhat remarkable that even on this high plane of its technical application, in which it designates nothing but the Sacred Scriptures, *γραφή* never occurs in the New Testament, in accordance with its most natural and, in the classics, its most frequent sense of "Treatise", as a term to describe the several books of which the Old Testament is composed. It is tempting, no doubt, to seek to give it this sense in some of the passages where, occurring in the singular, it yet does not appear to designate the Scriptures as a whole; and even Dr. Hort seems for a moment almost inclined to yield to the temptation.²³ It is more tempting still to assume that behind the frequent use of the plural, *αἱ γραφαί*, to designate the Scriptures as a whole, there lies a previous current usage by which each Book which enters into the composition of these Scriptures was designated by the singular *ἡ γραφή*. In no single passage where the singular *ἡ γραφή* occurs, however, does it seem possible to give it a reference to the Book of Scripture to

²³ On I Pet. ii. 6: note the "probably".

which the appeal is made. And the frequent employment in profane Greek of *γραφαί* in the plural for a single document²⁴ discourages the assumption that it, like *τὰ βιβλία*, has reference, when used as a designation of Scripture, to its composite character as a "Divine Library". It is true that in one unique passage, II Pet. iii. 16,²⁵ *αἱ γραφαί* bears a plural signification. But the items of which this plural is formed, as the grammatical construction implies, are not "treatises" (Huther, Kühn) but "passages" (De Wette). Peter says that the unlearned and unstable, of course, wrested the hard sayings of Paul's letters, as they were accustomed to wrest *τὰς λοιπὰς γραφάς*, i. e., "the other Scriptural statements",²⁶ due reverence for which should have protected them from such treatment, the implication being that no part of Scripture was safe in their hands. This is a sufficiently remarkable use of the plural, no other example of which occurs in the New Testament; it is, however, an entirely legitimate use of the plural²⁷ and in its

²⁴ E. g. of a letter, Euripides, *Iph. in Taur.* 735, "Let him give an oath to me that he will bear *τὰς γραφάς* to Argos"; *Iph. in Aul.* 363 (a line of doubtful genuineness), where Agamemnon is said to be secretly devising *ἄλλας γραφάς*: of a book, Georg. Sync., p. 168 *τὴν ἐκ τῶν Κεφαλίωνος γραφῶν πρὸς τὸν Διόδωρον διαφωνίαν*.

²⁵ On the meaning of this passage, see especially Bigg, *in loc.*, and cf. Chase, Hastings', B. D., iii. 810.

²⁶ For *γραφαί* in the sense of "statements", cf. Eurip. *Hipp.* 1311, where Phaedra is said, under the fear of disgrace, to have written *ψευδεῖς γραφάς*, probably not a "lying tablet" (*γραφαί* in its singular sense as in note 24 above) but "false statements." Cf. also Philo, *De Praem. et Poen.* 11. near the end (Mangey, II. 418), where he distributes the contents of the sacred volume into *αἱ ῥηταὶ γραφαί* and *αἱ καθ' ὑπόνοιαν ἀλληγορίαι*, which may perhaps be taken as "literal statements" and "covert allegories". The use of *γραφή* in the sense of a "passage" of Scripture is found in Philo, the LXX and frequently in the New Testament (see below).

²⁷ Accordingly *γραφαί* is quite freely used by the Church Fathers of a plurality of passages of Scripture. The famous words in Polycarp *ad Phil.*, xii. 1 are probably not a case in point: *ut his Scripturis dictum est* here apparently refers back to the *in sacris libris* which just precedes them and not forward to the two passages adduced. From Justin on, however, numerous examples present themselves. Cf. e. g. Justin, *Contra Tryph.* 65 (Otto. p. 230): "And Trypho said, Being im-

context a perfectly natural one, which, nevertheless, just because it is a special usage determined by its context, stands somewhat apart from the general technical use of αἱ γραφαί to designate the body of Scriptures and cannot guide us to its interpretation. In no other passage where αἱ γραφαί occurs is there the slightest hint that its plural form is determined by the conception of the Scriptures as a congeries of authoritative passages; this interpretation of the current plural form may indeed be set aside at once as outside of the possibilities of the case.

If we may not speak quite so decisively of the possibility of the plural form resting on a conception of "the Scriptures" as made up of a collection of Books, it may at least be said that there is nothing in the New Testament use of the term to remove the general unlikelihood of that construction of it. There are indeed two or three passages in which γραφαί might appear at first sight to designate a body of documents. Such are, for example, Rom. xvi. 26, where we read of γραφαὶ προφητικάί, and especially Mat. xxvi. 56, where we read of αἱ γραφαὶ τῶν προφητῶν. In the case of Rom. xvi. 26, however, the very natural impression that here we have mention of the several books which constitute the second of the sections of the Jewish canon, known as "The Prophets", is almost certainly an error (*cf.* Vaughan *in loc.*). It is very unlikely that the "prophetic writings" with this mention of which this epistle closes are any other than the "Holy Scriptures" of the prophets with mention of which it opens (Rom. i. 2); and it is quite clear that these "Holy Scriptures" are much more inclusive than the writings of the second section of the Jewish canon,— that they embrace in fact the entirety of portuned by so many Scriptures (τῶν τοσούτων γραφῶν) I do not know what to say about the Scripture (τῆς γραφῆς) which Isaiah said, according to which God says He will not give His glory to another." Again, *Cont. Tryph.* 71 (Otto. p. 255, *cf.* note): They have taken away πολλὰς γραφάς from the LXX translation. Again, *Clem. Alex. Cohort. ad Gentes*, 14 *ad init.* (Migne, i. 192D), "I could adduce μυρίας γραφάς not one of which shall pass away."

Scripture, thought of here as of prophetic, that is, revelatory, character (*cf.* Meyer, Weiss, Oltramare *in loc.*; Bleek on Heb. i. 1). Nor need the "Scriptures of the prophets" of Mat. xxvi. 56 have any different meaning (*cf.* Swete on Mk. xiv. 49, Morrison *in loc.*). It is quite true that the term "The Prophets" is sometimes in Matthew (v. 17, vii. 12, xxii. 40) and in the other Gospels (Lk. xvi. 16, 29, 31, xxiv. 44, Jno. i. 46) and in the rest of the New Testament (Acts vii. 42, xiii. 15, xxiv. 14, xxviii. 23, Rom. ii. 21) a technical term designating the second section of the Jewish canon; but it is equally true that it is sometimes used much more inclusively. For example in Mat. ii. 23 the reference seems to be quite generally to the Old Testament considered as a prophetic book (*cf.* Meyer *in loc.*); and in Mat. xi. 13, "all the prophets and even the law prophesied," the Pentateuch is expressly included within the prophetic word (*cf.* II Pet. i. 19). Passages like Lk. i. 70, xi. 50 show that by these writers the whole Old Testament revelation was thought of as prophetic in character, while Lk. xviii. 31 is certainly entirely general (*cf.* Acts iii. 24). The most instructive passages, however, are doubtless those which follow one another so closely in Lk. xxiv. 25, 27, 44. It can hardly be doubted that the same body of books is intended in all three of these references, which merely progressively discriminate between the parts which make up the whole. The simple "prophets" thus becomes first "Moses and indeed all the prophets" (*cf.* Hahn *in loc.*)—further defined as the "whole Scripture"—and then "the Law of Moses, and the Prophets and the Psalms." The term "the Prophets" occurs thus in this brief context in three senses of varying inclusiveness, and apparently lends itself as readily to the widest as to the narrowest application. In these circumstances there seems no reason why in Mt. xxvi. 56 "the Scriptures of the Prophets" should be narrowed beyond the inclusiveness of the suggestion of "the Scriptures" of the immediately preceding context (xxvi. 54) or of its own parallel in Mk. xiv. 49. In other words there is every rea-

son to believe that in this passage the defining adjunct "of the Prophets" does not discriminate among the books which make up the Scriptures and single out certain of these as prophetic, but rather describes the entire body of Scripture as prophetic in origin and character, that is to say as a revelation from God.²⁸ Γραφαί does not here, then, mean "books" "treatises", but αἱ γραφαί, as in verse 54 and in the parallel passage, Mk. xiv. 49, means the one Divine book. That Lk. xxiv. 27, ἐν πάσαις ταῖς γραφαῖς, lends itself readily to the same interpretation requires no argument to show. If αἱ γραφαί is employed in a singular sense, then πᾶσαι αἱ γραφαί means just the whole of the document so designated, and is the exact equivalent of πᾶσα ἡ γραφή or πᾶσα γραφή (II Tim. iii. 16 taken as a proper noun). The truth seems to be, therefore, that as there is no example in the New Testament of the use of ἡ γραφή in the sense of one of the Books of Scripture, so there is no trace in its use of αἱ γραφαί of an underlying consciousness of the composition of the Scriptures out of a body of such Books.²⁹ Whether the plural αἱ γραφαί, or the singular ἡ γραφή, is employed, therefore, the meaning is the same; in either case the application of the term to the Old Testament writings by the writers of the New Testament is the outgrowth of their conception of these Old Testament writings as a

²⁸ On this conception of the whole Old Testament as a prophetic book, cf. Willis J. Beecher, *The Prophets and the Promise*, 1905, pp. 168 sq.

²⁹ In Patristic usage, on the contrary, a very large variety of applications of ἡ γραφή and αἱ γραφαί, in the sense of Biblical Books or more or less extensive collections of Biblical Books, is found. Thus for example, in Athan. *Epist. En cycl.* I *ad init.* we meet with ἡ θεία τῶν Κριτῶν γραφή: in Eus. *h. e.* III. 11 with ἡ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου γραφή; in *ibid.* II. i. 2. with ἡ ἱερὰ τῶν εὐαγγελίων γραφή; in Orig. *Contr. Cels.* i. 58, with ἡ εὐαγγελικὴ γραφή. In Origen, *Contr. Cels.* vii. 24 and in *Fragmenta in Prov.* II, we find ἡ παλαιὰ γραφή, and in another place (Migne, i. 1365A) the corresponding νεώτεραι γραφα where the plural is probably a real plural. This is also the case in, say, Eus. *h. e.* iii. 3 when he speaks of "the acknowledged γραφαί" of the New Testament, and (*ad init.*) mentions that II Peter had been used by many μετὰ τῶν ἄλλων γραφῶν.

unitary whole, and designates this body of writings in its entirety as the one, well-known, authoritative documentation of the Divine revelation. This is the fundamental fact with respect to the use of these terms in the New Testament from which all the other facts of their usage flow.

In saying this, we are brought at once, however, face to face with what is probably the most remarkable fact about the usage of ἡ γραφή in the New Testament. This is its occasional employment to refer, not merely, as was to be expected from its form and previous history, to Scripture as a whole, nor even as, had it so occurred in the New Testament, would have been only a continuation of its profane usage, to the several treatises which make up that whole, but to individual passages of Scripture. This employment finds so little support in profane Greek, in which γράμμα rather than γραφή is the current form for the ad-duction of clauses or fragmentary portions of documents,³⁰ that it has often been represented as a peculiarity of the New Testament and Patristic Greek. Thus, for example, we read in Stephens' *Thesaurus* (*sub voc.*): "In the New Testament and ecclesiastical books, ἡ γραφή and αἱ γραφαί are used of the sacred writings which are commonly called 'The Holy Scriptures'. But γραφή is sometimes in the New Testament employed peculiarly of a particular passage of Scripture". And Schaefer adds to this merely a reference to a passage in one of the orations of Valckenaer, where commenting on Acts xvii. 2-3, he remarks that, in the New Testament, "passages of the Old Testament such as are also designated περιόχας, τόπους and χωρία are sometimes also

³⁰ E. g. Thucyd. v. 29: "They were angry with the Lacedemonians chiefly because among other things it was provided in the treaty with Athens that the Lacedemonians and Athenians if agreed might add to or take away from them whatever they pleased: this clause (τοῦτο τὸ γράμμα) aroused great uneasiness among the Peloponnesians." Cf. Philo, *De Congr. erud. grat.* 12 (Mangey i. 527): "There is also in another place τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο inscribed"—Deut. xxxii. 8; *Quod Deus Immort.* 2 (Mangey i. 273): Κατὰ τὸ ἱερώτατον Μωϋσέως γράμμα τοῦτο.

called *γραφάς*."³¹ The usage does not seem, however, to be peculiar to the New Testament and the Church Fathers: it occurs also, though rarely, in the LXX and Philo, and may claim therefore to be at least Hellenistic.³² It is probably the outgrowth of the habit of looking upon the Scriptures as a unitary book of divine oracles, every part and passage of which is clothed with the authority which belongs to the whole, and which is of course manifested in all its parts. No doubt this extension of *γραφή* from a designation of Scripture as a whole to a designation of any given fragment of Scripture, however small, was mediated by the circumstance that in adducing the authority of 'Scripture' for any doctrine or practice, it was always inevitably not the whole of 'Scripture' but some special declaration of 'Scripture' which was especially in mind as bearing upon the particular point at the moment in hand. The transition was easy from saying "The Scripture says, namely in this or that passage", to saying of this and that passage specifically, "This Scripture says" and "Another Scripture says". When the entirety of Scripture is "Scripture" to us, each passage may readily be adduced as "Scripture" also, because "Scripture" is conceived as speaking in and through each passage. A step so inviting was sure to be taken sooner or later. Whenever therefore *γραφή* occurs of a particular passage of Scripture, so far from throwing in doubt its

³¹*Ti Hemsterhusii Orationes, . . . L. C. Valckenai Tres Orationes, etc. Ludgunum Bat., 1784, p. 395.*

³² IV Macc. xviii. 14: "And he reminded you of τὴν Ἡσαίου γραφήν which says, Though you pass through fire." Philo, *Quis rerum div. her.* 53 (Mangey, i. 511); τὸ δὲ ἀκόλουθον προσεφαίνει τῇ γραφῇ φάσκων ἐρρήθη πρὸς Ἀβραάμ; *De Praem. et poen.* 11 (Magney ii. 418). Cf. *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, XI (April 1900) 245-6 notes. For the possibility of a classical use of *γραφία*="statements" see above p. 578 note 26. Of the ordinary Greek words for "passage" of a writing, neither *γράμμα* nor *χωρίον* occurs in the New Testament; *τόπος* only at Lk. iv. 17 and *περιοχή* only at Acts viii. 32 (cf. Dr. C. J. Vaughan on Rom. iv. 3 and *per contra*, Meyer *in loc.* and cf. 1 Pet. ii. 6 and the commentators there.) The place of all these terms is taken in the New Testament by *γραφή*.

usage of Scripture as a whole, conceived as a unitary Divine authority, it rather presupposes this usage and is an outgrowth of it. It cannot surprise us therefore that ἡ γραφή occurs in the New Testament side by side in the two senses, and designates indifferently either Scripture as a whole, or a particular passage of Scripture, that is, is used indifferently "collectively" as it has not very exactly been called, and "particularly".

It has often, no doubt, been called in question whether both these senses do occur side by side in the New Testament. Possibly a desire to erect some well-marked and uniform distinction between the usage of the plural αἱ γραφαί and the singular ἡ γραφή, has not been wholly without its influence here. At all events the suggestion has every now and then been made that the singular ἡ γραφή bears in the New Testament the uniform sense of 'a passage of Scripture', while it is the plural, αἱ γραφαί, alone which designates the Scriptures in their entirety. The famous Rationalist divine, Johannes Schulthess, for example, having occasion to comment briefly on the words πᾶσα γραφή Θεόπνευστος, II Tim. iii. 16, among other assertions of equal insecurity, makes this one: "γραφὴ in the singular never means in the New Testament βιβλος, much less the entirety of τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, but some particular passage"³³ Hitherto it has been thought enough to meet such assertions with a mere expression of dissent. Christiaan Sepp, for example, meets this one with equal brevity and point by the simple observation: "Passages like Jno. x. 35 prove the contrary".³⁴ But a new face has been put upon the matter by the powerful advocacy of the proposition "that the singular γραφή in the New Testament always means a *particular passage* of Scripture", by the late Bishop Lightfoot in a comment on Gal. iii. 22 which has on this account become famous. We must believe, however, that it is the weight

³³ *Lucubr. pro divin. discip. ac person. Jesu, &c.* Turici 1828, p. 36 note.

³⁴ *De Leer des N. T. over de H. S. des O. V.*, Amsterdam 1849, p. 69.

of Dr. Lightfoot's justly great authority rather than the inherent reasonableness of the doctrine which has given this opinion the great vogue which it appears to enjoy at present among English-speaking scholars. It was at once confuted, it is true, by Dr. C. J. Vaughan in a note on Rom. iv. 3; and in his own note on this passage Dr. Lightfoot seemed almost (not quite) persuaded to admit a doubt as to the usage of John, while reiterating, with respect to Paul at least, that in the matter of the use of *γραφῆ* in the singular of a single passage of Scripture "practice is absolute and uniform". Dr. Westcott took his stand by Dr. Lightfoot's side (see on Jno. ii. 22, x. 35) and labored to show that John's usage conforms to the canon asserted; and Dr. Hort, though with some apparent hesitation with respect to John and Paul—the only portions of the New Testament, it will be noticed, of which Drs. Westcott and Lightfoot express assurance—inclined on the whole to give his assent to their general judgment (on I Peter ii. 6). With more hesitancy, Dr. Swete remarks merely that "*γραφῆ* is a portion of Scripture", at least "almost always when the singular is used" (on Mk. xii. 10). General agreement in the view in question is expressed also, for example, by Page (Acts i. 16), Knowling (Acts viii. 32), Plummer (Lk. iv. 21), A. Stewart (Hastings' BD. I 286). It is difficult to believe, however, that the reasons assigned for this view are sufficient to bear the weight of the judgment founded on them. They suffice, certainly, to show—what is in itself sufficiently remarkable,—that *ἡ γραφή* is repeatedly employed in the New Testament of a particular passage of Scripture. But the attempt to carry this usage through all the instances in which the singular appears involves a violence of exegetical procedure which breaks down of itself. Out of the thirty instances in which the singular, *ἡ γραφή*, occurs, about a score prove utterly intractable to the proposed interpretation,—these nineteen to wit: Jno. ii. 22, vii. 38, 42, x. 35, xvii. 12, xix. 28, xx. 9, Acts viii. 32, Ro. iv. 3, ix. 17, x. 11, xi. 2, Gal. iii. 8, 22, iv.

30, I Tim. v. 18, Jas. iv. 5, I Pet. ii. 6, II Pet. i. 20.³⁵ In point of fact, therefore, in some two-thirds of the instances where *γραφί* is employed in the singular, its reference is to the Scripture as a whole, to that unitary written authority to which final appeal was made. In some of these passages it is no less than impossible to take it otherwise. In Jno. ii. 22, for example, there is absolutely no definite passage suggested, and Westcott seeks one to assign the reference to only under the pressure of theory. The same is true of Jno. xx. 9, where the reference is quite as broad as in Lk. xxiv. 45. In Jno. x. 35 the argument depends upon the wide reference to Scripture as a whole, which forms its major premise. In Gal. iii. 22 there is absolutely nothing to suggest a reference to a special text rather than to the general tenor of Scripture, and Lightfoot supplies a special text only conjecturally and with hesitation. The personification of Scripture in such passages as Jas. iv. 5, Gal. iii. 8 carries with it the same implication. And the anarthrous use of *γραφί* in I Pet. ii. 6, II Pet. i. 20, *cf.* II Tim. iii. 16, is explicable only on the presupposition that *ἡ γραφή* had become so much the proper designation of Scripture that the term had acquired the value of a proper name, and was therefore treated as definite without, as with, the article. If anything were needed to render this supposition certain, it would be supplied by the straits to which expositors are brought who seek to get along without it.³⁶ Dr. Hort, for example, after declining to understand *γραφή* in I Pet. ii. 6 of Scripture in general, because he does not find "a distinct and recognized use of this sort", finally suggests that we should ren-

³⁵ *Cf.* Cremer, *sub. voc.*, who gives 17 passages, omitting of those above Jno. vi. 12, xx. 9; T. Stephenson, *Expository Times* xiv. 475 sq. who in a well-classified list gives 18 passages, omitting Jno. xx. 9; E. Hühn, *Die alttestamentlichen Citate* &c., 1900, p. 276, who gives 23 passages, adding Jno. xiii. 18, xix. 24, 36, Jas. ii. 8. On the general question, *cf.* Vaughan, on Rom. iv. 3, Meyer on Jno. x. 35, Weiss on Jno. x. 35, Kübel on 2 Pet. i. 20, Abbott on Eph. iv. 8, Beet on Rom. ix. 17, *Encyc. Bibl.* 4329, Francke, *Das A. T. bei Joan.* p. 48, Haupt, *Die alttest. Citate in d. vier Evang.*, p. 201.

³⁶ *Cf.* Zahn, *Einleitung*, II, 108; Hort on I Pet. ii. 6.

der “simply, ‘in writing’ ”, so that “*περιέχει ἐν γραφῇ* shall be held equivalent to ‘it stands written.’ ” But he is compelled to add: “That the quotation was authoritative, though not expressed, was doubtless implied, in accordance with the familiar Jewish use of the words ‘said’, ‘written’ ”,—apparently not realizing that, if the quotation is authoritative then, “It stands written” is the equivalent of the authoritative employment of this phrase in the adduction of what is specifically Scripture, and therefore means here distinctly not, “It stands written—somewhere”, but “It stands written in the (technically so-called) Scripture.” This seems, therefore, to be only a roundabout way of saying that *γραφή* here means and definitely refers to the authoritative Scripture, and not any ‘writing’ indifferently. The same is inevitably true of II Pet. i. 20. It is impossible that by “every prophecy of Scripture” the writer can have meant “every prophecy which has been reduced to writing”.³⁷ He undoubtedly intended the prophecies written in the Old Testament alone (*cf.*, Bigg, Kübel, Keil *in loc.*); and this is but another way of saying that anarthrous *γραφή* is to him a technical designation of the Old Testament, or, in other words, that he uses it with precisely the implications with which we employ the term, “Scripture”.³⁸ In the presence of such passages as these there seems to be no reason why we should fail to recognize that the employment of *γραφή* in the New Testament so far follows its profane usage, in which it is applied to entire documents and carries with it a general implication of completeness, that it in its most common reference designates the Old Testament to which it is applied in its completeness as a unitary whole.³⁹

³⁷ *Cf.* Zahn, *Einleitung*, II. p. 109.

³⁸ Presumably few will take refuge in the explanation suggested by Dr. E. H. Plumptre (*Smith's B. D.* 2874), which understands the “prophecy” here of New Testament, not Old Testament prophets and renders, Every prophetic utterance arising from, resting on, a *γραφή*—i. e. a passage of the Old Testament.

³⁹ Precisely the same is true of the usage of the term in at least the earlier Patristic literature, although a contrary impression might be

It has seemed worth while to enter somewhat fully upon this matter, not only on account of its intrinsic interest and the importance given it in recent expositions, but also because the issue throws into a high light what is after all the fundamental fact about the New Testament use of ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί. This is the implication which they bear not only of the uniqueness of the body of religious writings which they designate, entitling them to be spoken of as together, in a supereminent sense, "the Scriptures", or rather "the Scripture", or even "Scripture"; but also, along with this, of their irreducible unity,—as constituting in their entirety a single divinely authoritative "writing". Francke is quite within the limits of clear fact, when he remarks,⁴⁰ "The contemplation of the entire body of Scripture as a unitary word, in all its parts equally resting upon a single authority, and therefore possessing the same authority everywhere, forms the most essential presupposition of the designation of the collection of the written word as the γραφή". It only needs to be added that the same is true of its designation as αἱ γραφαί. What requires emphasis, in a word, is that the two designations ἡ γραφή and αἱ γραφαί are, so far as our evidence goes, strictly parallel; and neither is to be derived from the other. That the application of αἱ γραφαί to the Scriptures does not rest on a previous application of ἡ γραφή to each of the Books of Scripture, we have already had occasion to show. It is equally important to observe that the application to Scripture of ἡ γραφή is not a sub-

taken from a remark at the close of Dr. Lightfoot's note on Gal. iii. 22. Η γραφή of a passage of Scripture seems to be the rarer usage in, for example, the so-called Apostolical Fathers. It occurs with certainty, only at 1 Clem. xxiii. 3 (cf. xxv. 5), 2 Clem. xxiv. 14, while ἡ γραφή—"Scripture" as a whole, seems to occur at least at 1 Clem. xxxiv. 6, xxxv. 7, xlii. 5; 2 Clem. vi. 8, xiv. 2; Barn. xvii. 11, v. 4, vi. 12, xiii. 2, xvi. 5. (The plural αἱ γραφαί occurs in 1 Clem. xiv. 52, and in the formula αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαί in 1 Clem. liii. 1 [Polyc. xii. 1]). In the later Fathers ἡ γραφή occurs in every conceivable variety of sense and application, but in none more distinctly than of Scripture as a whole.

⁴⁰ *Das A. T. bei Johan.* p. 48.

sequent development resting on a previous usage by which Scripture was known as αἱ γραφαί. The contrary assumption is often tacitly made and it is sometimes quite plainly expressed, as, for example, in the concluding words of Dr. Lightfoot's note on Gal. iii. 22, where he tells us that "the transition from the 'Scriptures' to the 'Scripture' is analogous to the transition from τὰ βιβλία to the 'Bible' ". Precisely what is meant by the last clause of this statement is perhaps not perfectly clear. It is obvious, of course, that the designation of the Scripture as τὰ βιβλία antedates the misunderstanding of this term as a feminine singular, whence arose the Latin "Biblia" and our "Bible" treated as a singular—if this be really the history of the origin of these latter terms; but Dr. Lightfoot can hardly have meant that the use of ἡ γραφή as a designation of the Scripture arose similarly through a misunderstanding of αἱ γραφαί as a singular. It would seem that he can only have meant that the progress was in both cases from a view of the sacred books which was fully conscious of their plurality to a conception of them which has swallowed up their plurality in a unitary whole. There is no proof, however, that such a movement of thought took place in either case. The fact seems to be that αἱ γραφαί was used from its earliest application to Scripture in a singular sense, in accordance with a current usage of the term in profane Greek. And we lack evidence that the Scriptures were known as τὰ βιβλία before they were known as ἡ βίβλος.⁴¹ These two modes of speaking of Scripture appear to have been rather parallel than consecutive usages. And it is probable that the same is true of the designations αἱ γραφαί and ἡ γραφή as well. It is true enough that we meet with αἱ γραφαί, though somewhat rarely and perhaps ordinarily in the phrase [αἱ] ἱερὰ γραφαί, in Philo⁴² and Josephus, whereas ἡ γραφή of Scripture in general is said to occur

⁴¹ See above, p. 573, note 19.

⁴² E. g. *De Abrahamo*, 13, (Mangey II, 20, 30) : αἱ γραφαί = "the Scriptures."

first in the New Testament.⁴³ But it is not probable that we are witnesses of the birth of a new usage in either case; and the evidence is too meagre to justify a pronouncement on the relative ages of the two forms. And in proportion as we recognize the singular sense of αἱ γραφαί and the rooting of both usages in a precedent Jewish mode of citing Scripture as the unitary Law of God, does all the probability of the proposed development pass away. In any event when the New Testament was in process of writing it was much too late in the day to speak of the formation of a sense of the unitary uniqueness of the Old Testament or of the rise of a usage in designating the Old Testament in which that sense would first come to its manifestation. Both that sense and modes of expressing it were an inheritance of the New Testament writers from a remote past, and find manifestation in the whole body of Jewish literature, not merely in the usage of the Rabbis, but in the pages of Philo as well. The truth seems to be that whether αἱ γραφαί is used or ἡ γραφή or anarthrous γραφή the implication is the same. In each case alike the Old Testament is thought of as a single document, set over against all other documents by reason of its unique authority based upon its Divine origin, on the ground of which it is constituted in every part and declaration the final arbiter of belief and

⁴³ Cf. Cremer, ed. 9, *sub voc.* γραφή II: "In Philo, and as it seems, also in Josephus, the singular does not occur of the Scriptures as a whole, although the plural does. Cf. αἱ ἀπογραφαί 2 Macc. ii. 1, ἀναγραφαί verse 14. The use of the singular in this sense seems accordingly to have first formed itself, or perhaps, more correctly to have manifested itself, in the New Testament community, and that in connection with its belief in the Messiah and its appeal to the Old Testament." The use of singular γραφή of the Scriptures is in any event not frequent in Philo and Josephus: and Cremer's inference is rash, even if the facts be as represented. It would be well, however, if the statement of fact were carefully verified. Cf. Josephus, *Antt.* III. i. 7, *fin.* where he tells us that a γραφή was deposited in the Temple which informs us that God foretold to Moses that water should be drawn thus from the rock. By this γραφή he means of course precisely what he elsewhere calls αἱ ἱεραὶ γραφαί: but he necessarily speaks of it indefinitely.

practice. We need not, then, seek to discover subtle reasons for the distribution of these forms through the New Testament, asking why truly anarthrous *γραφῇ* is employed only by Peter (*cf.* II Tim. iii. 16); why John and Paul prevailingly use the singular, Matthew uniformly and Mark and Luke prevailingly the plural; and why our Lord is reported as employing the two numbers indifferently. These things are at most matters of literary habit; at least, matters of chance and occasion, like our own indifferent use of 'The Scriptures,' 'The Scripture,' 'Scripture.'

One of the outgrowths of the conception of the Old Testament as a unitary Divine document, of indefectible authority in all its parts and declarations, was the habit of adducing it for the ordinary purposes of instruction or debate by such simple formulas as 'It is said', 'It is written', with the pregnant implication that what is thus adduced as 'said' or 'written' is 'said' or 'written' by an authority recognized as Divine and final. Both of these usages are richly illustrated in a variety of forms and with all high implications, not only in the New Testament at large, but also in the Gospels, and not only in the comments by the Evangelists but also in reported sayings of our Lord. We are concerned here particularly only with the formula "It is written", in which the consciousness of the written form, the documentary character, of the authority appealed to is most distinctly expressed. In its most common form, this formula is the simple *γέγραπται*, used either absolutely, or, with none of its authoritative implications thereby evacuated, with more or less precise definition of the place where the cited words can be found written. By its side there occurs in John the resolved formula *γεγραμμένον ἐστίν*; and in the latter part of Luke there is a tendency to adduce Scripture by means of a participial construction.⁴⁴ These modes of citation have analogies in profane Greek, especially in legislative usage.⁴⁵ But, as

⁴⁴ The various formulas may be commodiously reviewed in Hühn, *Die alttestamentlichen Citate*, pp. 272 sq.

⁴⁵ *Cf.* Cremer ed. 9 *sub voc.* *γράφω*, *fin.*; Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 112,

Cremer points out, their use with reference to the Divine Scriptures, as it involves the adduction of an authority which rises immeasurably above all legislative authority, so is freighted with a significance to which the profane usage affords no key. In the Gospels,—if we may take the Gospels as an example of the whole—of the two forms, *γέγραπται* alone occurs in Matthew (ii. 5, iv. 6 in the narrative; iv. 4, iv. 7, 10, xi. 10, xxi. 13, xxvi. 24, 31 in the report of our Lord's words) and in Mark (vii. 2 in the narrative; vii. 6, ix. 12, 13, xi. 17, xiv. 21, 27 in the report of our Lord's words), and predominantly in Luke (ii. 23, iii. 4, vi. 10 in the narrative; iv. 4, 8, vii. 27, x. 20, xix. 46, xxiv. 46 in the report of our Lord's words), but only once in John (viii. 17 in the report of our Lord's words). In the latter part of Luke the citation of Scripture is accomplished by the aid of the participle *γεγραμμένον* ([cf. iv. 17] xviii. 31, xx. 17, xxi. 22, xxii. 37, xxiv. 44), while in John the place of the formula *γέγραπται* (viii. 17 only) is taken by the resolved form *γεγραμμένον ἐστίν* (ii. 17, vi. 31, x. 34, xii. 14, cf. 16, in the narrative; vi. 45, [viii. 17], cf. xv. 25, in the report of our Lord's words). The significance of these formulas is perhaps most manifest when they are used absolutely, where they stand alone in bare authoritativeness, without indication of any kind whence the citation adduced is derived, the bald adduction being indication enough that it is the Divine authority of Scripture to

250. A good example of the classical mode of expression may perhaps be found in the third Philippic of Demosthenes (III. 41, 42, p. 122): "That our condition was formerly quite different from this, I shall now convince you, not by any arguments of my own, but by a decree of your ancestors (*γράμματα τῶν προγόνων*) . . . What then says the decree (*τὰ γράμματα*)? . . . In the laws importing capital cases it is enacted (*γέγραπται*)" Deissmann calls attention to the fact that Josephus uses *γέγραπτα*, infrequently in his references to the Old Testament, preferring *ἀναγέγραπται*; and refers to a passage in which he uses *γέγραπται* of a profane document. The passage is *Contr. Ap.* IV. 18: "For if we may give credit to the Phœnician records (*ἀναγραφαῖς*), it is recorded (*γέγραπται*) in them," etc. It should be observed that this is not an instance of the absolute *γέγραπται*; but yet it is not without an implication of (notarial) authority.

which appeal is made. Instances of this usage are found in the Gospels for *γέγραπται* in Mt. iv. 4, 6, 7, 10, xi. 10, xxi. 13, xxvi. 24, 31, in Mk. vii. 6, ix. 12, 13, xi. 17, xvi. 21, 27, in Lk. iv. 4, 8, 10, vii. 27, xix. 46, xx. 17, xxii. 37; for *γεγραμμένον ἐστίν* in Jno. ii. 17, vi. 31, xii. 14, [16]. In only a single passage each in Matthew and Mark is there added an indication of the source of the citation (Mt. ii. 5, “it is written through the prophet”; Mk. i. 2, “it is written in Isaiah the prophet”). In Luke such defining adjuncts are more frequent (ii. 27, in the law of the Lord; iii. 4, in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet; x. 26, in the law; xviii. 31, through the prophet; xxiv. 44, in the law of Moses and the prophets and the psalms, *i. e.*, in Scripture, verse 45). In John also such definitions are not relatively rare (vi. 45, in the prophets; viii. 17, in your law; x. 34, in your law; xv. 25, in the law). These fuller passages while they identify the document from which the citation is drawn, in no wise suggest that the necessity for such identification was felt; by their relative infrequency they rather emphasize how unnecessary such specification was except as an additional solemn invocation of the recognized source of all religious authority. The bare “It is written” was the decisive adduction of the indefectible authority of the Scriptures of God, clothed as such, in all their parts and in all their declarations, with His authority. We could scarcely imagine a usage which would more illuminatingly exhibit the estimate put upon Scripture as the expressed mind of God or the rooted sense of its unity and its equal authoritativeness in all its parts.⁴⁶

We should not pass lightly over this high implication of the employment of absolute *γέγραπται* to adduce the Scriptural word, and especially the suggestions of its relative frequency. No better index could be afforded of the sense of the unitary authority of the document so cited which dominated the minds of the writers of the New Testament

⁴⁶ Cf. especially Cremer, *sub voc.* *γράφω*; and A. Kuyper, *Encyclopaedia of Sacred Theology*, pp. 433 sq., 444 sq.

and of our Lord as reported by them. The consciousness of the human authors, through whom the Scriptures were committed to writing, retires into the background; thought is absorbed in the contemplation of the divine authority which lies behind them and expresses itself through them. Even when explanatory adjuncts are added indicating where the words to which appeal is made are to be found written, they are so framed as not to lessen this implication. Commonly there is given only a bare reference to the written source of the words in mind;⁴⁷ and when the human authors are named, it is not so much as the responsible authors of the words adduced as as the intermediaries through whom the Divine authority expresses itself.⁴⁸ In the parallel usage by which the Scriptures are appealed to by "It is said" and similar formulas the implication in question is perhaps even more clear. In Matthew, for example, Scripture is often cited as "what was spoken through (*διὰ*)" the prophets (ii. 23) or the prophet (xiii. 35, xxi. 4), or more specifically through this or that prophet—Isaiah ([ii. 3] iv. 14, viii. 17, xii. 17, *cf.* Jno. xii. 38), or Jeremiah (ii. 17, xxvii. 9) or Daniel (xxiv. 15). In a few passages of this kind the implication is explicitly filled out, and we read that the Scripture is spoken "by the Lord" (*ὑπὸ κυρίου*) through (*διὰ*) the prophet (i. 22, ii. 15, *cf.*, xxii. 31, "Have ye not *read* what was spoken by God *to you*", that is, in their Scriptures; Acts i. 16, "The Scriptures which the Holy Ghost spoke before through the words of David"; xxviii. 35, "The

⁴⁷ "In the law and the prophets and the psalms", Lk. xxiv. 44; "in the law" (of the whole Old Testament), Jno. x. 34, xv. 20, 1 Cor. xiv. 21; "in the (or your, or their) law", Lk. x. 26; Jno. viii. 17; "in the law of Moses", 1 Cor. ix. 9; "in the law of the Lord", Lk. ii. 23; "in the prophets", Jno. vi. 45, Acts xx. 14; "in Isaiah the prophet", Luke i. 2; in the book of the words of Isaiah the prophet, Luke iii. 4; "in the book of the prophets", Acts ii. 42; in the Book of Psalms", Acts i. 20 (*cf.* Luke xxi. 62, Matt. xii. 36); "in the first Psalm", Acts xiii. 33. The closest definitions of place in the Gospels are probably "at the bush", Mk. xii. 26; and "at the place", Luke iv. 17.

⁴⁸ Matt. ii. 5, "through the prophet"; Luke xviii. 31, "through the prophet."

Holy Ghost spoke through Isaiah the prophet to your fathers"). A similar use of *ἐξημέριον* or *ἐξηρηται* occurs in the writings of Luke, whether absolutely (Lk. iv. 12, [Rom. iv. 18]) or with indication of the place where it is said (Lk. ii. 24, Acts xiii. 40); and here too we find occasionally a suggestion that the human speaker is only the intermediary of the true speaker, God (Acts ii. 16, *διὰ* the prophet Joel). It is possibly, however, not in the Gospels that the general usage illustrated by these passages finds its fullest or most emphatic expression; but rather in the Epistle to the Hebrews, where the Scriptures are looked upon almost exclusively from the point of sight of this usage. Its height is perhaps attained in the designation of Scripture as *τὰ λόγια* (Rom. iii. 2, *cf.* Acts vii. 38, Heb. v. 12, I Pet. iv. 11) and the current citation of it by the subjectless *φησὶν* (I Cor. vi. 16) or *λέγει* (Rom. xv. 10, II Cor. vi. 2, Gal. iii. 16, Eph. iv. 8, v. 14), the authoritative subject being taken for granted.⁴⁹ In the Gospels, however, we have sufficient illustration of the same general method of dealing with Scripture, side by side with their treatment of it as documentary authority, to evince that their writers and Jesus as reported by them, shared the same fundamental viewpoint.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *Cf. The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, July 1899, p. 472, April 1900, p. 217.

⁵⁰ The *ἐρρέθη* of Mt. v. 21, 27, 31, 33, 38, 43 (*Cf.* Ro. ix. 12, 26, Gal. iii. 16) is not a formula of citation,—for which we should have the perfect, *ἐξηρκεν* (Heb. iv. 3, x. 9-15, xiii. 5)—but adduces the historical fact that such teaching as is adduced was given to the ancients. J. A. Alexander (on Mt. v. 21) admirably paraphrases: "You have (often) heard (it said by the scribes and leading Pharisees) that our fathers were commanded not to murder, and that consequently he who murders (in the strict sense of the term) is liable to be condemned and punished under the commandment." The subsequent instances, though in verses 27, 31, 38, 43 more or less abridged in the introductory formula, are governed by the full formula of verse 21. In point of fact the commandments adduced, (with additions to the first and last) are all found written in the Mosaic Law. But our Lord does not say that they are found there; He merely says that His hearers had often heard from their official teachers, that they were found there—"Ye have heard that it was commanded . . ." So Spanheim, J. A. Alexander, &c.

ON THE TERMS "BIBLE", "HOLY BIBLE".

The purpose of the following note is simply to bring together what seems to be currently known of the origin of the terms "Bible", "Holy Bible". No attempt has been made to go behind the universally accessible sources of information upon which the general public depends, in order to gather additional material. The object in view is merely to make plain how incomplete the accessible knowledge of the history of these terms is. It is remarkable that terms daily on the lips of the entire Western world should have been left until to-day without adequate historical explanation. The fact is, however, beyond doubt. In a short letter printed in *The Expository Times* a few years ago¹ Eb. Nestle remarks that "nobody as yet knows how the word 'Bible' found its way into the European languages" and represents even Theodor Zahn as declining the task of working out the story.² The account which is ordinarily given is that *βιβλία* was current in Greek in the sense of "the Bible"; that this was taken over into Latin as a feminine singular, "Biblia"; and that this form in turn passed thence into the several Western languages.³ There is no step of this presumed process, however, which is beyond dispute, and a great obscurity rests upon the whole subject.

Th. Zahn⁴ enters a strong denial with respect to the basis of the development which is assumed. "For τὰ βιβλία as a designation of the Old Testament," he says, "no usage can be adduced." More broadly still: "The mediaeval and modern employment of τὰ βιβλία in the sense of αἱ γραφαί, ἡ γραφή, that is 'Bible', is altogether alien to the ancient

¹ 1903-4, Vol. XV. pp. 565-566.

² What Zahn says, *Geschichte des N. T. Kanons* II. p. 944, is: "On the origin and earliest spread of the modern use of 'Bible' among the Western peoples I do not venture to say anything."

³ See e. g. A. Stewart, *Hastings' DB*, *sub voc.* 'Bible'; W. Sanday, *Hastings' ERE*, *sub voc.* 'Bible'; Hilgenfeld, *Einleitung in das N. T.* p. 30.

⁴ *Geschichte des N. T. Kanons* II. pp. 943-4.

church." The current representation on the faith of Suicer⁵ that τὰ βιβλία occurs first in the sense of 'Bible' in Chrysostom, he continues, is "only a widely-spread error"; the passages Suicer quotes do not support the representation.

To justify this last assertion Zahn examines the three passages which Suicer quotes from Chrysostom in support of his statement that "Scriptura Sacra is called βιβλία simpliciter", and concludes that no one of them employs the term in that sense. In one of them—*Hom. 1 in Genes.* (Montfaucon, iv. 81) not βιβλία simpliciter, but θεῖα βιβλία is used. In another—*Hom. 2* on certain passages of Genesis (Montfaucon, iv. 652)—Chrysostom declares that the Jews have no doubt τὰ βιβλία, but we Christians alone τῶν βιβλίων θησαυρός,—they τὰ γράμματα, we however both τὰ γράμματα and τὰ νοήματα—not the Bible but the Pentateuch being in mind and the very point of the statement requiring us to take the "Books" as merely so much paper, as the "letters" as only so much ink. It is on the third passage, however, that Suicer lays most stress, remarking of it, Here "βιβλία is used absolutely and means Sacra Biblia". It is found in *Hom. ix. in Epist. ad Coloss.* (Montfaucon ix. 391) and runs as follows: "Delay not, I beseech thee: thou hast the oracles (λόγια) of God. . . . Hear, I beseech you, all ye who are careful for this life, and procure βιβλία φάρμακα τῆς ψυχῆς. . . . If you will have nothing else, get, then, the New [Testament: τὴν καινὴν used absolutely as frequently in Chrysostom], the Apostle, the Acts, the Gospels, constant teachers, . . . This is the cause of all our evils,—ignorance of τὰς γραφάς." Zahn remarks: "It is evident that the anarthrous βιβλία here is not a name of the Bible, but

⁵Credner, *Geschichte des N. T. Kanons*, 1860, p. 229: "Further it is well known that for the collection of the sacred writings in general the name τὰ βιβλία (Bible) occurs first in the usage of Chrysostom (cf. *Suiceri Thesaurus*, sub voc.)." Reuss, *History of the New Testament*, E. T. p. 326 (§320): "From the time of Chrysostom the canonical collection is called simply τὰ βιβλία." Ersch and Gruber, art. "Bibel" *ad init.* Neither Credner's nor Reuss's statement is, however, quite justified by Suicer's words.

designates the category 'Books', to which, among others, the New Testament belongs; books too can be means of grace and constant teachers."

The average reader will no doubt feel that in his examination of these passages Zahn presses his thesis a little too far.

The contrast in the second passage between the Books and the Treasure hidden in them, between the Letter and the Sense, of course throws the emphasis on the *mere* Books and the *mere* Letter. But this, so far from excluding, presupposes rather, the technical usage of these terms, τὰ βιβλία, τὰ γράμματα, to mean "Bible", "Scripture". The terms are used here certainly with primary reference to the Old Testament. But this is not to the exclusion of the New. In the third passage—in which the rich series of designations of Scripture brought together should be observed: "the Oracles of God", "the New [Testament]", "the Scriptures",—it is clear enough, no doubt, that βιβλία is primarily a common noun. But it does not seem clear that it does not contain in itself a suggestion of its use as a proper noun. Beyond question Chrysostom means by these βιβλία just the Bible; just the "Oracles of God" of which he had spoken immediately before, inclusive of the New Testament of which he immediately afterwards speaks, and constituting "the Scriptures" of which he speaks somewhat further on. He speaks of these Bible books as remedial, and of course he speaks generally without an article. The case is like the anarthrous ἱερὰ γράμματα of II Tim. iii. 16, or the anarthrous 'Bible' when we congratulate ourselves that we live "in a land of an open Bible"; in both of which instances the term is technical enough. When Chrysostom exhorted his hearers to get for themselves βιβλία which will be medicaments for their souls, they caught under the common noun βιβλία the implication of the technical τὰ βιβλία. These passages of Chrysostom, after all would seem then to bear witness to the currency of the term τὰ βιβλία as the synonym of αἱ γραφαί, ἡ γραφή.

But why should we confine ourselves to the passages cited by Suicer? Sophocles defines τὰ βιβλία, if not, like Suicer, as the sacred Books of the Christians, yet, similarly, as “the Sacred Books of the Hebrews”, quoting for his definition the Prologue to Ecclesiasticus, I Macc. xii. 9 (τὰ ἅγια), Josephus, *Contr. Apion.*, i. 8; and Clem. Alex. [Migne] i. 66, 8 B, Origen, [Migne] i. 1276, C. The three Jewish citations we may for the moment leave to one side: in any case they do not present us with an absolute τὰ βιβλία, meaning “the Scriptures”. Clement and Origen take us back two hundred years before Chrysostom.

In the passage cited from Clement—it is *Paedagog.* iii. xii. *med.*—Clement is speaking of the goodness of the Instructor in setting forth his salutary commandments in the great variety of the Scriptures. He had adduced our Lord’s great summary of the Law (Mat. xxii. 37-40) and His injunction to the rich young man “to keep the commandments;” and taking a new beginning from this injunction, he enlarges on the Decalogue. “These things,” he remarks, “are to be observed,”—and not these only, but along with them, “whatsoever else we see prescribed for us as we read τὰ βιβλία.” For example there is Isaiah i. 10, 17, 18, and the declaration of Scripture that “good works are an acceptable prayer to the Lord”—whatever the passage may be which Clement may have had in mind when he wrote this. It is scarcely disputable that by τὰ βιβλία here, used absolutely, there is meant just “the Sacred Books,” that is to say, “the Bible”. The immediately preceding reference is to the Decalogue, and the immediately contiguous ones are to the Old Testament. But it seems hardly possible to contend that τὰ βιβλία therefore means here either the Decalogue, or the Pentateuch, or the Old Testament, distinctively. It is altogether more probable that it is equally comprehensive with the αἱ γραφαί of the closely preceding context. We cannot accord with Sophocles’ opinion, then, that τὰ βιβλία here means “the Sacred Books of the He-

brews": it seems to us to mean "the Sacred Books of the Christians."

The passage cited by Sophocles from Origen is *Contra Celsum* v. 60 (Ed. Koetschau, 1899, i. p. 63:22. 23). In it the Hebrew Scriptures are clearly referred to by τὰ βιβλία. It declares that Jews and Christians alike "confess that τὰ βιβλία were written by the Divine Spirit." But it does not follow that τὰ βιβλία means with Origen the Old Testament as distinguished from the New, though Koetschau seems inclined to hold this to be the fact. "The Books of the Holy Scriptures", he writes (*Prolegom.* i. p. xxxii.), "are with Origen generally designated θεῖα βιβλία, γραφή (γραφαί) or γράμματα; those of the Old Testament, βιβλία, παλαιὰ γραφή or παλαιὰ γράμματα". This would seem to say that the absolute τὰ βιβλία with Origen is the synonym not of ἡ γραφή but of ἡ παλαιὰ γραφή, not of τὰ γράμματα but of τὰ παλαιὰ γράμματα. There seems to be nothing in the *Contra Celsum*, to be sure, which will decisively refute this opinion. There we read of "the sacred βιβλία of the Jews" or "of the Hebrews" (Koetschau, i. 304, 26; 305, 6): of "the βιβλία which the prophets wrote in Hebrew" (ii. 208, 22; cf., i. 291, 12), or simply of "the βιβλία of the Jews" (ii. 93, 18); but nowhere else than in v. 60 (so far as Koetschau's confessedly incomplete index indicates) do we meet with absolute τὰ βιβλία in the sense of "The Scriptures".⁶ But what shall we make of a passage like the following from the Fourteenth Homily on Jeremiah (§12: Ed. Klostermann, 1901, p. 117, line 4)? "'For thy sins, then, will I give thy treasures for a spoil'. And he gave the treasures of the Jews to us, for they were the first to believe τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ, and only after them did we believe, God having taken the λόγια away from them and given them to us. And we say that 'the kingdom shall be taken away from them by God and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof' has

⁶ At II. 120, 2, we read of "the book of Genesis", and at various passages of secular "books" (II. 63, 4; 58, 17; 109, 15; 152, 26; 293, 1.)

been said by the Saviour and shall be fulfilled. Not that ἡ γραφή has been taken away from them, but now, though they have the Law and the Prophets they do not understand the meaning that is in them. For they have τὰ βιβλία. But how was the kingdom of God taken from them? The meaning τῶν γραφῶν was taken from them", etc. It is worth while to pause and note the rich synonymy of "the Scriptures" here. And, noting it, we may well ask whether, if τὰ βιβλία, because it is used here with the eye on the Hebrew Scriptures, is to be taken as meaning distinctively the *Hebrew* Scriptures, this same is not true also of τὰ λόγια and ἡ γραφή and αἱ γραφαί. There is a subtle propriety in the adjustment of these three terms to the exact place in which each appears in the argument. Λόγια emphasizes the divine origin of the Scriptures; βιβλία looks upon them from the point of view of their external form; γραφή, of their significant contents. The terms could not be interchanged without some loss of exactness of speech: βιβλία accordingly stands where it does because it expresses the externalia of the Scriptures, sets them before us as "nothing but books"—so much paper. But in their general connotation the three terms are coextensive, and there is no reason for narrowing τὰ βιβλία to "the Old Testament" because it refers to the Old Testament here, which will not apply as well to τὰ λόγια and to ἡ γραφή, αἱ γραφαί. There is preserved for us in the *Philocalia* (Ch. v., ed. Robinson, 1893, pp. 43-48) a remarkable fragment of the Fifth Book of Origen's commentary on John (ed. Preuschen, 1903, pp. 100-105), in which Origen, speaking to the text, "Of the making of many books there is no end", rings the changes on βιβλίον and βιβλία and leaves a strong impression on the reader's mind that to him τὰ βιβλία would be exactly synonymous with τὰ θεία βιβλία. "But since", says he (Preuschen, p. 103, 12), "the proofs of this must be drawn from τῆς θείας γραφῆς, it will be most satisfactorily established if I am able to show that it is not in one Book only that it is written among us concerning Christ—taking τὸ

βιβλία in its common sense. For we find it written in the Pentateuch", etc. Origen here, by telling us that τὰ βιβλία has a common sense, tells us also that it has a special sense, and that in this special sense it includes alike the New Testament in which we should expect to find Christ spoken of, and the Pentateuch where also He is spoken of; in a word it is the exact synonym of ἡ θεία γραφή.⁷

If we do not quite learn from Clement and Origen, therefore,—as Sophocles would have us learn—that, because it is used of the Sacred Books of the Hebrews, τὰ βιβλία means distinctively the "Sacred Books of the Hebrews", we do learn what Zahn would not have us learn, that it is used absolutely in the sense of "the Sacred Scriptures." We must now take note of the fact, however, that Zahn's primary object was to deny not that τὰ βιβλία, absolutely used, could mean "the Sacred Books", but precisely that it could mean the Sacred Books of the Hebrews—the Old Testament. His primary statement is that no usage can be adduced of τὰ βιβλία as a designation distinctively of the Old Testament. He is discussing the reading of a clause in II Clemens Rom. xiv. This clause couples together (in the Constantinople MS. followed by Lightfoot) τὰ βιβλία καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, which, as Lightfoot remarks, is a rough designation of the Old and New Testaments. On the testimony of the Syriac version Zahn reads τὰ βιβλία τῶν προφητῶν καὶ οἱ ἀπόστολοι, and to strengthen his position argues that absolute τὰ βιβλία for "the Old Testament" is unexampled. We have already seen enough to prove to us that absolute τὰ βιβλία was quite readily used to designate the Old Testament—because the Old Testament was part of the Scriptures, that is of τὰ βιβλία in their pregnant sense. But whether τὰ βιβλία was used *distinctively* of

⁷ Preuschen indexes the following further occurrences of the plural τὰ βιβλία, (apart from the passage, pp. 100-105) in the Commentary on John: p. 40, 21, τὰ τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης βιβλία; 117, 19, δι' ὧν τῶν ἁγίων βιβλίων. At p. 9, 24 Origen opens an inquiry as to why ταῦτα τὰ βιβλία—that is the Gospels,—are called by the singular title of εὐαγγέλιον.

the Old Testament—when the Old Testament was set over against the New—is another question.

This question need not wait long, however, for an answer. It cannot be doubted, and it is not doubted, that the Jews called their sacred writings, by way of eminence, “the Books”. As Zahn very exactly declares⁸ the Hebrew ספרים (Mishna Megilla i. 8) certainly underlies the usage of αἱ γραφαί, ἡ γραφή in the general sense of “the Bible”. The antiquity of this phrase may be estimated from its occurrence in Daniel ix. 2: “I Daniel understood by ‘the Books’ . . .”: “that is”, says Driver, commenting on the passage, “the sacred books, the Scriptures” (*cf.* ספר in Ps. xi. 8, Is. xxix. 18). The Greek rendering of this passage gives us to be sure αἱ βιβλίοι rather than τὰ βιβλία. But already in I Macc. xii. 9 we have the full phrase of which τὰ βιβλία is the natural abbreviation—τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια, while Josephus gives us the parallel τὰ ἱερὰ βιβλία: and from these phrases τὰ βιβλία could not fail to be extracted, just as γραφαί, was extracted from αἱ ἅγιοι γραφαί, αἱ ἱερὰι γραφαί, and the like. We meet with no surprise therefore the appearance of τὰ βιβλία in II Clem. xiv, as a distinctive designation of the Old Testament. It only advertises to us, what we knew beforehand, that the Old Testament was “the Books” before both Old and New Testaments were subsumed under that title, and that usage, in a community made up partly of Jews, for a time conserved, without prejudice to the equal authority of the New Testament Books, some lingering reminiscence of the older habit of speech. How easily the Old Testament might continue to be called τὰ βιβλία after the term had come to include New Books as well, may be illustrated by a tendency which is observable in the earlier English usage of the word “Bible” (persisting even yet dialectally) to employ it of the Old Testament distinctively—as in the phrase “The Bible and the Testament”,—not, of course, with any im-

⁸ *Geschichte*, etc. I. 87, note 1.

plication of inferiority for the New Testament books.⁹ How long such a tendency to think of the Old Testament especially when the term τὰ βιβλία was heard continued to manifest itself in the early church, it would require a delicate investigation to determine. It is enough for the moment to note that II Clem. xiv witnesses to the presence of such a tendency in the first age, while such phrases as meet us in Melito of Sardis¹⁰—τὰ παλαιὰ βιβλία, τὰ τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης βιβλία—warn us that the new conditions of the New Covenant with its New Books were already requiring a distinction, among the τὰ βιβλία by way of eminence, between the New and the Old Books which made up the whole. Τὰ βιβλία in a word to Jew and Christian alike meant just “the Holy Books”, “the Books” by way of eminence, by the side of which could stand no others; and though ear and lip needed a space to adjust themselves to the increased content of the phrase when Christianity came bringing with it its contribution to the unitary collection, yet the adjustment was quickly made and if the memory of the earlier usage persisted for a while, τὰ βιβλία in Christian circles meant from the beginning in principle the whole body of Sacred Books and rapidly came to mean in practice nothing less.

We cannot agree with Zahn, then, that the usage of τὰ βιβλία in the early church provides no basis upon which the development of our term “Bible” could have taken place. But when we come to take the next step in the development of that term, we are constrained to assent to Nestle’s declaration that nobody knows how the term “Bible” found its way into the European languages. The Latins did not take over the Greek word βιβλία, or its cognate βιβλοι, to designate the Biblical books. They had in their own *Liber* a term which had already acquired a pregnant sense “in religion and public law”—as expressing “a religious

⁹ See the passages from the *Oxford Dictionary of the English Language*, in note 28 below.

¹⁰ Otto: ix. 414.

book, Scripture, a statute book, codex"¹¹; and which therefore readily lent itself to employment as the representative of the pregnant Greek terms which it translates, though it scarcely seems to have attained so absolute a use. Accordingly we find in use in the early church side by side with such Greek phrases as τὰ βιβλία τῆς παλαιᾶς, τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης, the Latin phrases, *Libri veteris, novi testamenti, (fæderis)*:¹² and over against the Greek βιβλία κανονικά, the Latin *libri regulares*, or as Rufinus puts it, *libri inter canonem conclusi*.¹³ Jerome gave currency to the very appropriate term *Bibliotheca* as the designation of the corpus of the Sacred Books; and this term became later the technical term perhaps most frequently employed, so that Martianaus in his *Prolegomena in divinam bibliothecam Hieron.* i. §1,¹⁴ speaking "de nomine Bibliothecae Divinae," can very fairly say, "among the ancients, the sacred volume which we, at the present time, call Biblia, obtained the name of Bibliotheca Divina."¹⁵ There is no trace of such a word as "Biblia" in Patristic Latin, and no such word is entered in the Latin Lexicons,—not even in the great Latin *The-saurus* now publishing by the German Universities. We shall have to come to Du Cange's *Gloss. Med. et Inf. Latin-*

¹¹ Andrews' *Latin-English Lexicon*, sub *voc.*

¹² Reuss, E. T. p. 308, § 303.

¹³ Reuss, p. 321, § 316.

¹⁴ Migne, *Patrol. Lat.* xxviii. (*Hieron.* vol. 14) pp. 33-34.

¹⁵ M. Kähler, *Dogmatische Zeitfragen*², I. p. 362, writes: "It was very harmlessly intended and was not in contradiction of the usage followed by Christ Himself, when the Holy Scripture was called a Bibliotheca. . . . As, however, that designation 'Bibliotheca' never became the dominant one, and the Biblical one, 'the Scripture', alone ultimately maintained itself, so the comprehensive name, 'the Bible', attained general currency in the West before the ninth century." On this last point, he had already said, (p. 232 note 1): "As a popular designation 'Biblia' was in use long before its earliest provable occurrence in the ninth century," with appeal to: "Eb. Nestle, *Beit. zur Allg. Z.* 1904, No. 90, p. 117,"—an article to which we have not access, though possibly we have its essential contents in the contemporarily printed note in the *Expository Times*, mentioned at the beginning of this discussion. It can be said that 'Bibliotheca' never became the dominant designation of the Scriptures only in contrast with such a designation as "the Scriptures".

itatis to discover it. And when we discover it we are told very little about it except of its existence in the Latin of the early middle ages, and shortly afterwards in the vernaculars of the West.

There seems to be no serious inherent difficulty in conceiving the passage of a Greek neuter plural into Latin as a feminine singular. The thing appears not to be unexampled, and so might have happened to *βιβλία*. What we lack is clear evidence that *βιβλία* did pass into "Biblia", and exact information of the stages and processes by which the feat was accomplished. And the difficulty of the problem is vastly increased by the circumstances that the time when the transference is supposed to have taken place was not a time when there was rich intercourse between the East and the West, in which borrowing of terms would have been easy and natural; and that there was no obvious need upon the part of the West for such a term, which would render its borrowing of it natural. Yet the term is supposed to have been taken over with such completeness and heartiness as to have become the parent of the common nomenclature of the Scriptures in all the Western languages.¹⁶ The difficulties raised by these considerations are so great that one finds himself questioning whether the origin of the term "Biblia" in Mediaeval Latin and of its descendants in the Western languages can be accounted for after the fashion suggested, and whether some other conjectural explanation of their origin might not wisely be sought for—as, for example, a contraction of the commonly current term "bibliotheca".¹⁷ Some color might be lent to such a conjecture by the fact that "Biblia" and its descendants seem to have been from the first in use not merely in an ecclesiastical but also in a common sense—

¹⁶ Grimm, *sub voc.* "Bibel", enumerates as follows: Italian, *bibbia*, Spanish, *biblia*, French, *bible*, Middle High German, *biblie*, Dutch, *bijbel*, Islandic, *biflja*, Russian and Lithuanian, *biblija*, Polish, *biblia*, Bohemian, *biblĭ*, etc.

¹⁷ The Latin *Thesaurus* tells us that *Bibliotheca* occurs in titles variously contracted: "*Compendia in titulis*: by., byb., bybl., byblio., bibliot.," and in even completer forms.

as designations, that is, not merely of the Scriptures but of any large book.¹⁸ Appeal might be made also to the ease with which the two terms 'Biblia' and 'Bibliotheca' took one the other's place down at least to the fifteenth century.¹⁹ What we need, however, is not conjectures but a series of ascertained facts, and these are at the moment at our disposal in very insufficient measure.

Du Cange can tell us only that the word "Biblia" occurs in the *Imitatio Christi* I i. 3,²⁰ and in the *Diarium Belli Hussitici*, adding a quotation from a Chronicle, at the year 1228, to the effect that "Stephen, archbishop of Canterbury . . . made postils super totam Bibliam." To this Diefenbach in the *Glossarium* which he published (1857) as a supplement to Du Cange merely adds an intimation that certain fifteenth century glossaries contain "Biblia" in the sense of a "large book",²¹ as also "Biblie" and "Bibel" (German). Becker in his *Catalogi Bibliothecarum Antiqui* is able to cite earlier examples of "Biblia" from old catalogues of libraries. The earliest—from the ninth century—comes from the catalogue of an unknown French library; next in age are two twelfth century examples—one from Monte Cassio and the other from Stederburg in Brunswick. The English Latin catalogues in which he finds it begin with one of the books at Durham, dating from 1266,²² and by that time

¹⁸ See Diefenbach's addenda to Du Cange, *sub voc.* "Biblia". The Oxford Dictionary gives English examples from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries: *e. g.* 1377, Lang. *Piers Pl.* B. xv. 87; "Of this matere I mygte mak a long bible"; 1542, Udall, *Erasm. Apophth.* 205a, "When he had read a long bible written and sent to hym from Antipater". (The quotation from Z. Boyd 1639 does not seem to us to belong here).

¹⁹ This is adverted to in the Oxford Dictionary, *sub voc.* "Bible". The following citations are given: 1382, Wyclif, 2 *Macc.* ii. 13, "He makyng a litil bible (Vulg. bibliothecam) gadride of cuntress bokis"; c. 1425, in Wr.-Wülcker, *Voc.* 648, *Biblioteca*, bybulle; 1483 *Cath. Angl.* 31, A Bybylle, *biblia*, *bibliotheca*.

²⁰ Si scires totam Bibliam.

²¹ "Biblia, eyn gross buch."

²² Cf. Eb. Nestle, *The Expository Times*, xv. pp. 565-566. The citation given in the Oxford Dictionary from an Anglo-Latin occurrence

the word was already in use in English,²³ and of course in French,²⁴ since the English usage rests on the French. How early it appears in the modern European languages we lack data to inform us. The German examples which Diefenbach quotes are from the fifteenth century and those which Heyne gives from the sixteenth,^{24a} while Grimm cites none earlier than the seventeenth. But if the Low-German "Fibel" is really a derivative of "Bibel," the common use of "Bibel" must have antedated the fifteenth century.^{24b} Littré gives no French example earlier than Joinville, who wrote at the beginning of the fourteenth century (1309). Its French usage must go well back of this, however, for as we have seen it had come from French into Middle English by that date. The name in ordinary use of "biblia" in 1095—viz. from the Catalogue of the Lindisfarne books—Nestle shows to rest on an error. This catalogue dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth century.

²³ The Oxford Dictionary cites from c. 1300, *Cursor M.* 1900: "As the bibul sais"; from 1330, R. Braune, *Chron.* 290: "The bible may not lie".

²⁴ Littré (*Dictionnaire de la Langue Française* I. *sub voc.*) cites only: "HIST. xiii^es.—Un cordelier vint à li au chastel de Yeres [Hières] et pour enseigner le roi, dit en son sermon, que il avoit leu en Bible et les livres qui parlent des princes mescreans, JOINV. 199" To this may be added Joinville, *Histoire de Saint Louis*, Paris, Didot, 1874, p. 310 (cxi. 569): "L'endemain s'ala logier li roys devant la citei d'Arsur que l'on appelle Tyri en la Bible." On p. 320 (cxiii. 583) "Bible" occurs in the sense of "Balista", cf. Du Cange, *sub voc.* "Biblia I." The Century and the Standard Dictionaries both record this usage for English.

^{24a} Heyne, *Deutsches Wörterbuch* I. 1890, tells us *sub voc.* that Bibel is a borrowed word from the Greek neuter-plural Biblia, "Books", which since the late Middle-High-German, as in Middle Latin, has been looked on as a feminine singular, first in a form nearer to the Latin, and afterwards in that now current—with a reference to Diefenbach. His earliest citations are from Luther, who still has (*D. christliche Adel*, 1520) "die biblien, das heilig gotis wort", but elsewhere (*Wider die himlischen Proph.* 1525): "aus meine verdeutschen bibel".

^{24b} Cf. F. Kluge, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch d. deutschen Sprache*, 6² ed. 1905 *sub voc.* "Fibel", where we are told that it was entered in Low-German Glossaries of the fifteenth century (first in 1419), was used by Luther, and duly registered since Hemisch 1616. Kluge classifies "Bibel" as a Middle-High-German word. |"

throughout the Middle Ages for what we call the "Bible" was "Bibliotheca", and we accordingly find that in Old English (Anglo-Saxon) "bibliothéce" alone occurs in this sense.²⁵ From the fourteenth century on, however, "Bible" takes the place of "Bibliothéce." Chaucer uses it freely in both the ecclesiastical and common senses.²⁶ Purvey uses it as a word well-known in common currency, referring naturally to "the Bible late translated," and to that "simple creature" (as he called himself) "who hath translated the Bible out of the Latin into the English." The rapidity with which the term entered into general usage may be divined from the examples given by Richardson and Murray.

These lexicographers record no example, however, of the occurrence of the compound term, "The Holy Bible." It seems that this combination was somewhat late in establishing itself as the stated designation of the sacred book in English. It first finds a place on the title-page of an English Bible in the so-called "Bishops' Bible," the earliest issue of which dates from 1568: "The. holie. Bible. | conteyning the olde | Testament and the newe."²⁷ It of course

²⁵ The Oxford Dictionary says: "In O. E. bibliotheca alone occurs." Nestle *l. c.* says: "The name commonly used throughout the Middle Ages was Bibliotheca"; and accordingly in O. E. and all mediaeval writers this term is used for complete Mss. of Old and New Testaments. The Anglo-Saxons also used "ge-writ" when speaking of the Bible.

²⁶ In the ecclesiastical sense: Canterbury Tales: Prolog. l. 438, "His studie was but litel in the Bible"; Pardoner's Tale, l. 4652, "Looketh the Bible, and ther ye may it leere"; The Wife's Preamble, l. 10729, "He knew of hem mo legends and lyves | Than been of goode wyves in the Bible." In the general sense: Canterbury Tales, Prol. to Canon's Yeoman's Tale, l. 17257, "To tellen al wolde passen any Bible | That owher is"; House of Fame, l. 1334 (Book iii. l. 244), "If all the arms of the people he saw in his dream were described, 'men myght make of hem a Bible twenty foote thykke."

²⁷ The *editio princeps* of the English Bible (Coverdale, 1535) bears the title: "Biblia | The Byble: that | is the holy Scripture of the | Olde and New Testament." Matthews' Bible, of 1537, has: "The Byble, | which is all the holy Scrip- | ture: In which are contayned the | Olde and Newe Testament—" Taverner's Bible, of 1539, has: "The most | sacred Bible, | whiche is the holy scripture, con- | teyning the old and new testament." The very popular and frequently reprinted "Genevan Bible" called itself, edition 1560: "The Bible | and | Holy Scriptures | conteyned in | the olde and Newe | Testament."

continues on the title-pages of the numerous subsequent issues of this edition,²⁸ but it does not otherwise occur on the title-page of English Bibles until the appearance of the Douai Old Testament of 1610: "The | Holie Bible |" The Rheims translators, in the preface of their New Testament, published in 1582, had indeed spoken of "the holy Bible" as "long since translated by us into English, and the Old Testament lying by us for lacke of goode meanes to publish the whole in such sort as a worke of so great charge and importance requireth"; from which we may learn that, though the volume of 1610 contains only the Old Testament, the term "The Holie Bible" upon its title is not to be confined to the Old Testament, as sometimes the phrase was confined in its Old English use.²⁹ The adoption of the term "The Holy Bible" for the title-page of King James' version of 1611: "The | Holy Bible, | conteyning the Old Testament, | and the New | ", finally fixed it as the technical designation of the book in English.

It is natural to assume that the current title of the Vulgate Latin Bible with which we are familiar—*Biblia Sacra*—lay behind this English development; but it would be a mistake to suppose that this was by any means the constant designation of the Latin Bible in the earlier centuries of its printing. A hasty glance over the lists of editions recorded in Masch's *Le Long* (iii.) indeed leaves the impression that it was only after the publication of the "authorized" Roman edition of 1590, "*Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis*", that this designation finally established itself as regular; though it was of course frequently employed before that. The original edition of John Fust and Peter Scheoiffer indeed

²⁸ *E. g.* 1573, 1574, 1575 bis, 1576, 1577 bis, 1578, 1584, 1585, 1588, 1591, 1595, 1602.

²⁹ In the Oxford Dictionary are found the following examples of this odd usage from the sixteenth century: Rastell, *Bk. Purgat.* I. 1. "Neyther of the bokys of the olde byble nor of the newe testament"; 1589, Golding, *De Mornay*, xxiv. 357, "Certaine bookes which we call the Bible or Olde Testament." It may not be out of place to note that Rastell wrote as a Romanist, Golding as a Protestant controversialist.

is described by LeLong (p.98) as "Biblia Sacra Latina juxta Vulgatam editionem II vol. in folio." And the title of the great Complutensian Polyglot (1514-1517) is given as "Biblia Sacra."³⁰ But these are not the actual titles of these books, and it is not until near the opening of the second quarter of the sixteenth century that "Biblia Sacra" begins to appear on the title-pages of the Latin Bibles which were pouring from the press.^{30a} Osiander's edition (Norimbergae, 1522) has it: "Biblia sacra utriusque Testamenti," (p. 309), and of course transmitted it to its reprints (1523, 1527, 1529, 1530, 1543, 1559, 1564); Knoblauch's contemporary edition, on the other hand, (Argentorati, 1522) has rather: "Biblia sacrae scripturae Veteris omnia" (p. 314).³¹ Among Catholic editions, one printed at Cologne in 1527: "Biblia sacra utriusque Testamenti" (p. 178), seems to be the earliest recorded by Le Long, which has this designation. It seems to have been, however, a Paris edition of the next year (1528): "Biblia sacra: integrum utriusque testamenti corpus completens", (repeated in 1534, 1543, 1548, 1549, 1550, 1551, 1552, 1560) which set the fashion of it. Somewhat equivalent forms appear by its side, such as: "Biblia Bibliorum opus sacrosanctum" (Lugduni, 1532), "Biblie sacre Textus" (Lugduni, 1531),

³⁰ This is the actual title of the Antwerp Polyglot, 1569-1572, and of Walton's Polyglot, 1657; but not of the Paris Polyglot.

^{30a} The *editio princeps* has no title page; and the Complutensian Polyglot no general title page. Cf. Fr. Kaulen, *Geschichte der Vulgata*, 1868, pp. 305-6:—"The first editions contain only the naked text of the Vulgate, together with the Introductions of St. Jerome and the old *Argumenta*, as they appear already in the *Codex Amiatinus*. A proper title is at first not present; and neither the sheets nor the pages show numeration. Instead of the title, the front page bears commonly a heading in large type: *Incipit prologus sancti iheronymi, incipit epistola sciti iheronymi ad paulinam, prologus biblie*, and the like. The folio edition of Basle, 1487, bears as title merely the one word, 'Biblia'. In one edition of 1486, without indication of place of printing, there stands for the first time as title, 'Biblia Vulgata' . . . By far the most common title is 'Biblia Latina', accompanied in later editions by some addition giving the contents."

³¹ Brylinger's edition, Basiliae, 1544 (1551, 1557, 1562, 1569, 1578) has: "Biblia Sacrosancta"—

and especially "Biblia Sacrosancta" (Lugduni, 1532, 1535, 1536, 1544, 1546, 1556, 1562: Basiliae 1547, 1551, 1557, 1562, 1569, 1578). But none of these became fixed as the technical designation of the volume, as *Biblia Sacra* tended to become from the opening of the second quarter of the sixteenth century, and ended by fairly becoming before that century closed.

The Romance languages seem to have followed this growing Latin custom in the designation of their Bibles, although examples of the simple nomenclature persist (*e. g.*, *La Bible qui est toute la sainte esriture*, Geneva, 1622). Among the Teutonic races, other than the English, however, it has been slower in taking root. German Bibles still call themselves "Biblia, das ist: die gantze Heilige Schrift," or in more modern form, "Die Bibel, oder die ganze Heilige Schrift," and Dutch Bibles similiarly, "Biblia, dat is de gantsche H. Schrifture," or more modernly, "Bijbel, dat is de gansche Heilige Schrift." Doubtless "die heilige Bibel" or "de heilige Bybel"—though not unexampled,—would seem somewhat harsh and unusual to Teutonic ears. Strange to say they would take more kindly apparently to such a phrase as "Das heilige Bibelbuch."

Our common phrase, "The Holy Bible", thus reveals itself as probably a sixteenth century usage, which has not yet been made the common property of the Christian world. In its substantive, it rests on an as yet insufficiently explained mediaeval usage, not yet traced further back than the ninth century. This usage in turn is commonly assigned for its origin to a borrowing from the Greek churches of their customary use of *τὰ βιβλία* to designate the Scriptures. Behind this lies a Jewish manner of speech. This appears to be all that can as yet be affirmed of the origin of our common term: "The Holy Bible."

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THE TEXT OF LUKE XXII. 17-25.

The canonical accounts of the institution of the Lord's Supper in I Cor xi. 23-25, Mk xiv. 22-25 and Mt xxvi. 26-29 present texts which are generally acknowledged to be original and which, therefore, require no discussion from the textual standpoint. The case is very different with the text of Luke xxii. 17-25. The character of the passage is essentially affected by the retention or omission of vv. 19b, 20. If these verses are a part of the original text, Lk gives an account closely allied to the Pauline account, but peculiar in the mention of two cups, that of v. 17 and that of v. 20. If, on the other hand, vv. 19b, 20 are omitted, we have a strikingly unique tradition of the institution, in which the cup precedes the bread, the cup is given without the usual words significant of its sacramental character, and the bread is dismissed as in Mk (Mt) with the bare words, *τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου*. The arrangement of the text in which vv. 19b, 20 are omitted, but the order vv. 19a-17-18 is established, preserves the usual precedence of the bread but is as singularly poor as the form just discussed in statements of the significance of the cup. The solution of this most complex and difficult problem is important not only for the proper grouping of the canonical sources giving an account of the institution (can we maintain the usual grouping Mk-Mt and Paul-Lk, or must we make three groups, Mk-Mt, Paul, and Lk?) but for the decision of the broader question of the temporal and ideal connection between the Jewish Passover and the Christian sacrament.

Five forms of the text are attested. In the following enumeration they are set down without reference to the supposed affinities between the text-forms, but simply to exhibit the actual varieties of attested texts:

(1) That attested by all the uncials except D, by most minuscules and most versions, containing vv. 17-20 as

they stand in Tischendorf's text, in the conventional order vv. 17-18-19-20. V. 17 recounts the taking and dividing of a cup which has been blessed, but which is without indicated sacramental significance, unless that significance lies in the words *λάβετε* and *διαμερίσατε*. V. 18 is found without essential variation in all texts, and recounts the statement of Jesus that he will not drink of the cup again until the Kingdom come. V. 19a recounts the taking, blessing, breaking¹ and giving of the bread, with the short statement of its sacramental significance, *τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου*, as in Mk and Mt. V. 19b continues the statement of v. 19a by adding *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* as in Paul, with the further natural addition of *διδόμενον*, and has a command for the repetition of the sacrament as in Paul, but not in Mk and Mt. V. 20 recounts the similar procedure, *ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι*, with another cup, after supper (so Paul) and the following statement of the sacramental significance of the cup, *τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου* (so Paul except *ἐστίν* after *διαθήκη* and *ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι*, for *ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου*), then a difficult addition, *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον*, said to belong grammatically to *τὸ ποτήριον* and logically to *τῷ αἵματι*, similar to Mk's *τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* where both the grammatical and logical reference is plainly to *τὸ αἶμά μου*. The most striking characteristics of this text are the two cups, and the similarity of vv. 19b, 20 to Paul and Mark.

(2) That attested by D (d) a ff² i l (rhe), which omits vv. 19b, 20, with the consequent order vv. 17-18-19a. This text evidently regards the cup of v. 17 as the sacramental cup, but has the cup before the bread, and is without the usual words indicative of the sacramental signifi-

¹ It is difficult to discover on what authority Sir William Ramsay makes the statement that "there is no mention of the Breaking of the Bread" in Mark's account of the institution, *Expository Times*, March, 1910, p. 250. The Greek text of Mk. xiv. 22, which he cites in a footnote (*Ibid.*, p. 252), contains the familiar *ἐκλασεν*. Again in the *Expository Times* for April, 1910, p. 297, he marks with an asterisk the steps of the rite "which Paul mentions and which Mark omits." The first item so marked is "He brake the bread."

cance of the cup. Then follows the usual v. 18, and the institution of the bread in v. 19a, ending with *τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου*.

(3) That attested by b e, which omits vv. 19b, 20 as in (2) but places v. 19a before vv. 17, 18, with the consequent order vv. 19a-17-18. Here we have a poverty of explanatory words for the cup as in (2), the same explanatory words for the bread, with affinities with Mk Mt, not with Paul, but the bread resumes its usual precedence of the cup.

(4) That attested by Syr^{ca} which omits v. 20, but has all of v. 19 except *διδόμενον*, in the order of (3). Here the bread precedes the cup, there are no sacramental words with the latter, but the words in connection with the bread and the command for repetition are similar to those in Paul.

(5) That attested by Syrⁱⁿ which has all of v. 19 and disjoined fragments of v. 20 before and after v. 17 in the following order vv. 19-20a-17-20b-18. The bread stands first, with the full indication of its significance and the command for repetition as in (1), then the Pauline *καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι* as in v. 20a, the institution of the cup with the sacramental words of v. 20b, but in the more nearly Marcan form *τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἶμά μου ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη* and the usual v. 18.

Three forms of the text have been advocated as original: (1), (2) and (3); (4) and (5) have such scanty attestation and are so evidently enlargements of a text like (3) that their originality has been out of the question. Spitta², while contending that (1) is original with the author of the third Gospel, holds that the source which lay before him contained only vv. 17-18-19, a form of text at present unattested by any manuscript. At first glance, considerations of method suggest an immediate examination of the evidence for (3), as having the least external attestation. Further reflection, however, reveals the fact that such a dis-

² *Zur Geschichte u. Litteratur des Urchristentums*, Göttingen, 1893, iter Bd., pp. 297f.

cussion, involving matters of essential importance to the determination of the relative originality of (1) and (2), had better be deferred until after an examination of the two forms of text, one or the other of which has commanded the support of most scholars. We turn then to a discussion of the relative priority of the texts attested by \aleph ABCL etc. and D a ff² i l.

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR THE \aleph ABCL etc. AND THE
D a ff² i l TEXTS.

It is immediately apparent that the latter text is supported by purely Western evidence. That evidence is confined to the uncial D and the Old Latin codices a ff² i l, unconfirmed by the testimony of any other early version or any early father. Moreover, the Old Latin codices c f g¹ 2 q, which are frequently found in agreement with D, are here ranged against it. However, the frequent variants within the group show us that we have to do with a text that has a considerable history, that is, with a very early text. The former text is not only attested by all the uncials except D, by the minuscules and most versions, but is also confirmed by the testimony of Marcion and Justin. Justin in his account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, Apol. i:66 has *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησίν μου* in connection with *τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ σῶμά μου*, but not in connection with *τοῦτό ἐστι τὸ αἷμά μου*, which, as R. A. Hoffmann³ remarks, proves that this text of Justin's goes back at least to a tradition such as that represented in our received Lucan text, since neither Mt nor Mk have the words at all and Paul has them in connection with both the bread and the cup.⁴ Tertullian

³ *Die Abendmahlsgedanken Jesu Christi*, Königsberg i. Pr., 1896, p. 19.

⁴ It does not seem necessary at this point to go into the broader and much disputed question of the character of Justin's citations from the Gospels. Cf. Bousset, *Die Evangelienцитате Justins des Märtyrers*, Göttingen, 1891, for the view that back of Justin's citations of the words of Jesus lies a text widely different from the present text of our Gospels. Cf. also Schürer, *Theol. Litztg.*, 1891, Sp. 363, Hilgenfeld, *Ztschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol.*, 1893, pp. 250-53, 267; Lippelt and von Soden as cited in Nestle, *Einführung* usw.,³ Göttingen, 1909, p. 160.

makes us aware of the fact that Marcion knew v. 20. *Adversus Marcionem* iv.40⁵ reads "sic (sc. ut in panis mentione) in calicis mentione testamentum constituens sanguine suo obsignatum substantiam corporis confirmavit". Here we have a clear reference to τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, though the covenant is not expressly specified as a new covenant. There can be no reference here to the Pauline account since Tertullian everywhere in the fourth book from chapter eight to the end cites the Gospel of Luke against Marcion's falsification of it⁶. That is to say, the early character of the longer text is confirmed not only by the testimony of the great mass of codices and versions but by the testimony of Marcion and Justin. We have then to do with two forms of the text, each of which is very early.

Opinion as to the value of the Western text in the Gospels is so unsettled that it is impossible to approach the specific question before us with any confident presumption. We cannot be sure whether the variants presented by D are relatively late redactions or whether they preserve a very early or a Lucan text. The question is most acute in the last three chapters of Luke, xxii-xxiv, where the many omissions and additions attested by the Western text warn us of an early disturbance of the text. We shall perhaps be justified therefore in foregoing an attempt to settle the broad question in regard to the character of the Western text in the Gospels, and in contenting ourselves with an induction from the phenomena which it offers in the three chapters of Luke to which the Western "non-interpolations" are confined. Fr. Schultzen⁷ may guide us in his careful study, (1) of the variants attested by the group D-it-Syr^{cu} and (2) of those with other attestation. The readings of Syr^{sin} were apparently not available at the time when Schultzen con-

⁵ *Tertulliani quae supersunt omnia*, ed. Oehler, tom. ii, pag. 268, cf. also Zahn, *Forschungen* usw., Erlangen u. Leipzig, 1890, 2ter Bd., p. 25, 491.

⁶ Cf. R. A. Hoffman, *op. cit.*, p. 19, Anm., where *Adversus Marcionem* is wrongly quoted, iv. 20.

⁷ *Das Abendmahl im Neuen Testament*, Göttingen, 1895, pp. 7 ff.

structed the body of his argument, though he discusses them in a footnote⁸, but their addition does not affect the conclusions of his argument. The variants of the first class are grouped according to their character as additions, alterations, and omissions. The additions and the alterations attested by D-it-Syr^{cu} (the testimony of the Itala codices is not constant) are in no case to be preferred. The situation is somewhat different with regard to the omissions. It may appear inconsequent to attach any importance to the omissions of a text which is under suspicion because of its additions and alterations. In such a text we must always reckon with the possibility not only of intentional omissions but of omissions occasioned by carelessness or haste. But it is possible that an otherwise suspicious text may in some cases preserve the original readings, while the better witnesses, under special influences, present later alterations and additions. This possibility is made more probable by the variants of the second class, where it appears that the text has been freely interpolated. In xxii. 43, xxiii. 17, xxiii. 34a, xxiv. 42, xxiv. 43, all of which are glosses with the exception of xxiii. 34a, the group D-it-Syr^{cu} is never decidedly on the side of the codices which omit. In at least one case where the gloss is apparent, xxiii. 17, it presents the questionable words—which affords another ground for caution. A sure result can be obtained only by turning to the omissions of the first class of variants. Here the following passages come into question: xxii. 62, xxiii. 39, xxiv. 3, 6, 9, 12, 17, 20, 36, 40, 51, 52⁹. Of these variants Westcott and Hort double-bracket xxii. 62, xxiv. 3, 6, 9, 12, 36, 40, 51, 52 on the adverse testimony of the Western witnesses, but retain xxiii. 39 against the omission of D e, l having a compilation from the parallels; xxiv. 7, against D b e ff² l Marcion, a omits more; xxiv. 17, against a b c e ff² l Syr^{cu}; xxiv. 20

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

⁹ Schultzen also cites the testimony for omissions in xxiii. 54, 55, 56, attested by D alone; for xxiv. 1, a single word, ἀρώματα, attested by D a b c e ff² i l sah Syr^{cu} Syr^{sin}; and for xxiv. 25, attested again by D alone.

against a ff² l. Schultzen is doubtful about xxii. 62 but concludes that an addition is more probable. He asserts the probable originality of xxiv. 3 against Westcott and Hort, agrees with Westcott and Hort in considering xxiv. 6, 9, 12, 40, 51, 52 additions, and is doubtful about xxiv. 36. In the cases where Westcott and Hort retain the readings against the Western testimony, as indicated in detail above, Schultzen finds xxiii. 39 of doubtful originality, agrees in asserting the originality of ἀμαρτωλῶν in xxiv. 7; περιπατοῦντες in xxiv. 17; καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ἡμῶν in xxiv. 20. In other words, intrinsic and transcriptional evidence leads Westcott and Hort to assent to the omissions of D-it-Syr^{cu} in nine cases out of thirteen, while in the other four cases the testimony of the group is set aside. Schultzen is inclined to add xxiii. 39 to the cases in which the D-it-Syr^{cu} readings are to be preferred, while he is doubtful about xxiv. 36 which Westcott and Hort double-bracket. It is possible to differ with Schultzen in some details, but not in his general conclusion, which he states somewhat as follows¹⁰. The examination of these passages leads to the conviction that the group D-it-Syr^{cu} has preserved the original text in many cases. On the other hand, in four passages (xxiv. 3, 7, 17, 20), portions of the original text have been omitted. In some cases the decision has been for the former alternative because there was no apparent ground for the omission of the words in question. The possibility of omissions due to oversight or haste is still open. Our investigation has yielded some general points of view but not much positive result. We have at least learned that we must reckon strongly with the possibility of the shorter text being the original.

We may be permitted to remark that the presumption in favor of the shorter text in xxii. 17-25 rests on an induction in which the final determination of the primary or secondary character of the D-it-Syr^{cu} group is made on the basis of the internal evidence afforded by the passages themselves rather

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 15f

than on the authority of the manuscripts. In at least four cases both Westcott and Hort (xxiii. 39, xxiv. 7, 17, 20) and Schultzen (xxiv. 3, 7, 17, 20) set aside the testimony of the Western group under the influence of the internal evidence. The presumption of the originality of the Western text in its omissions is therefore a presumption which must be confirmed or rejected on the internal evidence afforded by xxii. 17-25¹¹.

We turn then to an examination of the intrinsic and transcriptional evidence, with the presumption in favor of the shorter text, but a presumption itself based on internal evidence in the cases of the thirteen variants examined and waiting for confirmation or rejection at the hands of the internal evidence. Both texts are very old, certainly as old as the second century, and their relative priority hangs in the balance until the intrinsic and transcriptional evidence is thrown into the scale.

Both texts present serious intrinsic and transcriptional difficulties. The long text is difficult. The short text is difficult. In fact, they are both so difficult that the examination resolves itself into a determination of which text is the less difficult rather than into a determination of which is the more congruous.

INTRINSIC DIFFICULTIES OF THE κ ABCL etc. TEXT.¹²

There are two internal difficulties in the text attested by κ ABCL etc.: (1) the presence of two cups, v. 17 and v. 20,

¹¹ Schmiedel's observation must be borne in mind, *Hand-Comm.*, 2ter Bd., Freiburg i. B., 1891, p. 269: "Sehr mit recht aber lehnt Steck, 163, W-H's Meinung ab, Lc. 22: 19f. habe τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδ... ἐκχυνν ursprünglich gefehlt. Nicht nur dass dies nur abendländisch ist (...); es zeigt sich hier vor allem, wohin die einseitige Beachtung textkritischer Umstände führen kann."

¹² A sharp discrimination between intrinsic and transcriptional evidence in the discussion of the internal difficulties of the long text leads to such repetition of matters of detail that it has seemed best not to carry it through. For instance, the conformity of Lk. xxii. 19b, 20 to I Cor xi. 24, 25 and Mk xiv. 24 is properly a transcriptional difficulty, while the alleged infelicities of the text of Lk xxii. 19b, 20 are intrinsic difficulties; yet the continuity of the argument suffers if the two questions be separated.

and (2) the conformity of vv. 19b and 20 to I Cor xi. 24b, 25a and Mk xiv. 24b, which gives rise to the suspicion that we have here to do with an interpolation. We shall consider the difficulties in order.

(1) The two cups¹³. There are two possibilities open to us. (a) The cup of v. 17 and the cup of v. 20 are the same. The cup of v. 17 is then an anticipatory reference to the cup of v. 20. This supposition is not only without apparent reason beyond the difficulty of the situation but it involves an impossibly awkward insertion of the institution of the bread between two accounts of the cup. We may safely turn to the second possibility. (b) The cup of v. 17 and the cup of v. 20 are different cups. A comparison of the cup of v. 17 and the cup of v. 20 reveals the fact that although the cup of v. 17 has attached to it the words of v. 18, λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν ὅτι οὐ μὴ πῖω . . . ἔλθῃ, which in Mk xiv. 25 and Mt xxvi. 29 stand in connection with the Lord's Supper cup, yet the cup of v. 20 is undoubtedly the Lord's Supper cup by virtue of the words τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη κ.τ.λ. It has been held that the cup of v. 17 is a paschal cup. So, for instance, Resch,¹⁴ who holds that v. 18 stands in the Lucan account in the position which it occupied in the *Urtext* and that Luke, in accordance with his sources, preserves for us an account of the celebration of the Jewish Passover, in its chief moments, by Jesus and His disciples, *before* Jesus instituted the New Testament Supper. He thinks that it is vain to endeavor to specify the cup of the Passover meal which Jesus consecrated, since we do not know how closely He adhered to the Passover ritual then in use. The cup of v. 20, however, belongs no longer to the Jewish Passover: it is, on the contrary, τὸ ποτήριον τῆς καινῆς διαθήκης. It is very probable that the cup of

¹³ This is the difficulty which has appealed strongly to Dr. Sanday, art. *Jesus Christ*, HDB, ii., p. 636, where he says, " . . . the double mention of the cup raises real difficulties of the kind which suggest interpolation."

¹⁴ *Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien, Texte u. Untersuchungen*, Bd. x, Heft 3, 1895, p. 626.

v. 17 is the third cup, the so called כוס הברכה, for the prayer offered by the Jewish house-father in connection with this cup expressly mentions the wine as the fruit of the vine (citing as authority Bartoloccius, *Bibliotheca magna rabbinica*, Romae 1678, ii, 738). This prayer forms the transition to the saying of v. 18 in which Jesus forever takes leave of the Jewish פרי הגפן = τὸ γένημα τῆς ἀμπέλου. Schmiedel¹⁵ sees no reason for departing from the position taken by Resch, and adds, "Luke does not wish to let the Lord's Supper cup appear as a part of the Jewish Passover, and accomplishes his purpose by first relating the participation of Jesus in the Passover, so that the Lord's Supper stands as something quite new, no longer Jewish." On this interpretation, v. 15 recounts the eating of the Passover, v. 16 gives the statement of Jesus that He eats it for the last time under these conditions, v. 17 recounts the drinking of a paschal cup, perhaps the third cup, and v. 18 gives His statement that He drinks it for the last time under these conditions. Vv. 15, 16 and vv. 17, 18 form parallels, in which the Passover is completed. Vv. 19, 20 pass on to the institution of the Lord's Supper. This view of the cup of v. 17 receives some confirmation from the fact that the cup of v. 17 is without the article—a cup—while the cup of v. 20 has the article—the cup. Plummer¹⁶ says "But τὸ ποτήριον need not mean more than 'the cup just mentioned.' In Mt and Mk ποτήριον has no article: and in all three ἄρτον has no article: so that its absence in ver. 17 and presence in ver. 20 is not of much weight in deciding between the two difficulties." However, we have seen that it is impossible to identify the cup of v. 17 with the cup of v. 20: therefore, it is impossible that τὸ ποτήριον of v. 20 should mean "the cup just mentioned." The fact that ἄρτον nowhere has the article and that ποτήριον is found without it in Mt and Mk rather encourages the conjecture

¹⁵ *Protestantische Kirchenztg.*, 1896, Sp. 105.

¹⁶ *Comm. on St. Luke*, Int. Crit. Comm., New York, 1906, p. 496.

that when it is found with the article in the Lucan parallel the addition is significant. If so, it can only mean to suggest a contrast between the cup of v. 17 which is merely "a cup", "a paschal cup", and the cup of v. 20 which is "the cup", "the Lord's Supper cup". If this interpretation of the character of the two cups be accepted, the intrinsic difficulty not only disappears but Luke's narrative possesses a definiteness which is wanting in Mt and Mk. This advantage of the Lucan account in clearness is quite independent of the further question as to whether or not the Lord's Supper had any temporal connection with the Passover. For Luke's narrative in the form in which it has come down to us, even apart from xxii. 17-25, dates the Lord's Supper on the Passover evening.

Some further questions raise themselves : Why is only one paschal cup mentioned? How is the position of λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν . . . ἔλθῃ in connection with the paschal cup and not in connection with the Lord's Supper cup as in Mt and Mk to be accounted for ? The express inference from the Lucan account that our Lord did not partake of the Lord's Supper cup, and the fact that according to Luke He did not expressly charge the disciples to partake of the cup of v. 20, though He did charge them to partake of the cup of v. 17, also need explanation. With reference to the fact that only one paschal cup is mentioned, it is perhaps enough to say that none of the Synoptists gives us any clear intimation of the closeness with which he supposes the Passover ritual to have been adhered to at the Last Supper, nor are we informed with precision as to the character of the Passover ritual in current use at the time. Luke is more explicit than either Matthew or Mark in notifying us of the drinking of a paschal cup, and we ought not to complain of his failure to illumine for us all the details of the Last Supper. The λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν . . . ἔλθῃ is at least as natural in its Lucan context as in the context of Matthew and Mark. Indeed, the inference which may be drawn from its Lucan position to the effect that

our Lord did not drink of any subsequent cup, that is to say, not of the Lord's Supper cup, fits the significance of the cup better than the most natural inference from Matthew or Mark, namely that He did drink of the Lord's Supper cup. As Hoffmann¹⁷ says, "These words in Mt and Mk are rightly understood by Haupt to mean that the Lord drank of the Lord's Supper wine which He gave to His disciples as His blood. That is, however, factually impossible and Luke's narrative deserves the preference in this point". V. 18 certainly reports a charge to drink in connection with the paschal cup, *Λάβετε τοῦτο καὶ διαμερίσατε εἰς ἑαυτοὺς* : but in connection with the Lord's Supper the burden of the charge is borne by the *ὡσαύτως* of v. 20, which clearly refers to the *λαβὼν εὐχαριστήσας, ἔδωκεν* of v. 19, so that the command to drink the Lord's Supper cup is sufficiently explicit in Luke. If this interpretation of the cup be maintained, it is not unreasonable to assert that Luke in his report of two cups not only does not present difficulties in contrast to Mt and Mk, but that in relative fullness of detail and in the more natural placing of *λέγω γὰρ ὑμῖν . . . ἔλθῃ* he deserves the preference over his fellow Synoptists.

(2) The second difficulty of Lk xxii. 17-20 is found in the supposed interpolation of vv. 19b, 20 from I Cor and Mk. That which Paul and Mark present beyond the short text, ending at v. 19b, corresponds to the additions in the long text, which awakens the suspicion that the long text has been enlarged from the parallels. We are warned against a hasty decision by Hehn's sensible remark.¹⁸ "The textual-critical rule that the shorter text is to be preferred cannot be applied here. For it rests on the observation that the enlarged text generally contains circumlocutions or explanations of the main thought, without adding anything new. But here the situation is different. The assumption of the originality of the shorter text darkens

¹⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

¹⁸ *Die Einsetzung des hl. Abendmahls*, Würzburg, 1900, p. 21.

the sense inexplicably and forms an unconfirmed contradiction to the other accounts”.

The discussion of the question will be aided by the display of the texts to be examined :

Luke.

19b. τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν διδόμενον· τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

20. καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι, λέγων· Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου,

τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον.

Paul—Mark.

I Cor xi. 24 Τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸ ποτήριον μετὰ τὸ δειπνήσαι, λέγων Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ αἵματι.

Mk. xiv. 24 τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν.

I Cor xi. 26 τοῦτο ποιεῖτε, ὡς ἄκις ἐὰν πίνετε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν.

If we suppose that vv. 19b, 20 were interpolated from I Cor and Mark, we must be prepared to admit that the interpolation took place at a very early date, for Marcion knew v. 20 and the corrupted text soon came to be almost universally accepted. We have here, moreover, an unusual if not altogether unique case of the interpolation of a Gospel from an Epistle.¹⁹ Joh. Weiss finds this fact the only striking fact in connection with the interpolation. He says,²⁰ “It is only striking that the interpolator has not drawn his material from Mt Mk but has here inserted the Pauline account”. He then advances a cautious suggestion in explanation of this unusual phenomenon. “It is not impossible that in the codex in which the interpolation was first made, the Gospel of Luke, without Mt and Mk, was bound up with the Pauline Epistles”. We must admit that the explanation is not impossible : it is, however, not probable, and its possibility lacks the confirmation of any

¹⁹ The texts of Syr^{cu} and Syr^{s1n} in this passage may perhaps be regarded as examples.

²⁰ Meyer-Weiss, *Komm. über Lukas*^s, Göttingen, 1892, p. 616.

sort of evidence. Wright²¹ advances another explanation : "A copy of St. Luke's Gospel must have reached Corinth, or some other Pauline church at an early date. What wonder if the church authorities, finding in it so strange an inversion of their own custom of administering the Eucharist, should have inserted into the margin from their liturgical formula (which was based on I Cor. xi. 25) the words which in the common text distort the whole passage ?" It is easy to object that the Gospel of Mark must have reached the supposed Pauline church at the same time, for τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον is not found in I Cor but in Mk. Surely the church authorities did not do well in inserting into a passage containing "so strange an inversion of their own custom of administering the Eucharist" "words which in the common text distort the whole passage", nor does any known fact lie back of Dr. Wright's conjecture. It may conceivably be easier to call in the known fact of the close association of the third Evangelist with Paul to explain the similarity between the Gospel and the Epistle.

When we carefully compare vv. 19b, 20 with I Cor xi. 24, 25, 26 and Mk xiv. 24, we are at once aware that the texts are not entirely coincident. Mr. Frankland²² has somewhat too mechanically summarized the differences between the passages : "Words added, ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς, διδόμενον, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον: words displaced μου, ὡσαύτως: words omitted, ἐστίν and the whole phrase, τοῦτο ποιείτε, ὅσάκις ἐὰν πίνητε, εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν: words changed, μου for ἐμῷ. Thus in respect of thirty-seven words in the Epistle, the Gospel displays change amounting to twenty words". The ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς lies outside the range of the supposed interpolation. διδόμενον is a natural addition to the abrupt ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν of I Cor xi. 24. This abruptness in I Cor itself has given offense to copyists, and κλωμενον, θρυπτομενον, διδομενον have been added in various manuscripts. The displacement of μου and ὡσαύτως, the

²¹ *Some New Testament Problems*, London, 1898, p. 138.

²² *The Early Eucharist*, London, 1902, p. 118.

omission of *ἐστίν* and the change of *ἐμῷ* into *μου* are minor changes such as are likely to occur in an interpolation. But more serious questions present themselves. Why was not the interpolation made from Paul exclusively? Why, if the interpolation was to be enriched from Mark, is the Marcan text changed? Why is the second *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε* . . . *ἀνάμνησιν* omitted? Westcott and Hort²³ tell us that the copyist, considering that the first *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε* . . . *ἀνάμνησιν*, already appropriated from Paul, contained implicitly the second, obtained a "neater ending" by taking a phrase from Mk (Mt), with the substitution of *ὑμῶν* for *πολλῶν* in accordance with St. Paul's *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* in the former verse. We are willing to admit that *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον* makes a neat ending, though Zahn, as will appear later, thinks it a very crude one. However, since the copyist was interpolating from Paul and not writing an independent account or depending on an account in which *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε* . . . *ἀνάμνησιν* occurred only once, as perhaps Justin was, we are surprised that he should turn aside to Mark for a neat ending, when the second Pauline *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε* . . . *ἀνάμνησιν*, which would preserve a perfect balance between the members of his text, lay at his hand. He was evidently proceeding with some care, for he nicely altered Mark's *ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* to *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* to correspond with the former Pauline *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*. The closely reasoned neatness of the copyist is almost suspicious.

Nevertheless two infelicities of the Lucan text, in addition to the similarity of vv. 19b, 20 to I Cor and Mk have been urged in favor of the supposition of an interpolation.

(1) The first infelicity is found in the supposed incorrect reference of the participial clause in v. 20, where it is said that *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον* belongs logically to *τῷ αἵματι*, but grammatically to *τὸ ποτήριον*. Zahn²⁴

²³ *The N. T. in the Original Greek*, New York, 1882, ii, Notes on Select Readings, p. 64.

²⁴ *Einleitung in das NT.*,³ 2ter Bd., Leipzig, 1907, p. 365.

states the matter most sharply: "Such a crude and absolutely unnecessary solecism is not to be attributed to a Luke, nor the absurdity that the cup which Jesus gave to His disciples was poured out or shed for them". A closer study reveals some mitigation of the harshness of the construction. The cup of course stands by a metonymy for the wine within it. In Mark's λαβὼν ποτήριον this metonymy is implicit but none the less real where καὶ λαβὼν ποτήριον εὐχαριστήσας can only mean that Jesus blessed the wine in the cup. So far the metonymy is maintained in Mark. But the καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες unfolds the metonymy. They drank not the cup but the wine. Now that the thought has been led from the cup as a metonymy for the wine to the wine itself, Mark's τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου is the natural sequence. But in Luke the metonymy is preserved throughout. It is implicit in καὶ τὸ ποτήριον ὡσαύτως. Then Luke omits καὶ ἔπιον ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες, and so does not unfold the figure, making it instead more evident by writing τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον for Mark's simple τοῦτο. Luke has committed himself to the metonymy. He writes τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἢ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου because τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον τὸ αἶμά μου τῆς διαθήκης would violate the figure, and adds τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον, the natural consequence of his consistent use of the cup for the wine. He alters the ὑπὲρ πολλῶν of Mark to ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, precisely because it is the cup which is given to them which carries the figure. If he had left ὑπὲρ πολλῶν unchanged it might perhaps be thought that τὸ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν ἐκχυννόμενον belonged logically to τῷ αἵματι but grammatically to τὸ ποτήριον. Since he maintains the use of cup as a metonymy for wine, it is likely that here τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον belongs both logically and grammatically to τὸ ποτήριον.

(2) The second infelicity of the text is found in the abruptness of v. 21 after v. 20. Axel Andersen²⁵ says, "The thought of v. 21, 'But (πλήν), behold the hand of my

²⁵ *Das Abendmahl* usw.² Giessen, 1906, p. 37.

betrayer is with me on the table', forms no contrast to v. 20. But it forms an excellent contrast to vv. 15-18, which express again the loving fellowship of Jesus with His disciples in the last hour". Spitta²⁶ also remarks, "It must not remain unobserved that if v. 20 belongs to a later form of the tradition, the word concerning the betrayer, v. 21, stood in the original immediately after that concerning the bread. And so there arises a noteworthy parallel to John xiii.18 where the words of Psalm xl.10 are applied to the betrayer : ὁ τρώγων μου τὸν ἄρτον ἐπήρην ἐπ' ἐμὲ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ." Πλήν, the adversative conjunction,²⁷ is one of Luke's favorite words, being used by him fifteen times (vi.24, 35; x. 11, 14, 20; xi. 41; xii. 31; xiii. 33; xvii. 1; xviii. 8; xix. 27; xxii. 21, 22, 42; xxiii. 28). Matthew has it five times (xi. 22, 24; xviii. 7; xxvi. 29, 64). Mark does not use it. It is found elsewhere in the New Testament six times (I Cor xi. 11; Eph v. 33; Phil i. 18; iii. 16; iv. 14; Rev ii. 25). An induction of the passages in which Luke uses it, though there is a difference of opinion among commentators, confirms Blass's classification of it as an adversative.²⁸ It is possibly expansive and progressive only in xi. 41. We have then to consider whether the πλήν τραπέζης of v. 21 forms a better contrast to v. 19a than to v. 20. We must also keep in mind the fact that πλήν appears again as a strong adversative in v. 22. On the supposition that vv. 19b, 20 are an interpolation, the original text reads as follows: 19a καὶ λαβὼν ἄρτον εὐχαριστήσας ἔκλασεν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς λέγων Τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου. 21 πλήν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδιδόντος με μετ'

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 298, Anm. 1, where the reference is cited, evidently from Tischendorf, as *Psa.* xl. 9; properly either *LXX*, xl. 10 or *Heb.* xli. 10.

²⁷ Blass-Thackeray, *Grammar of New Testament Greek*, London and New York, 1905, p. 268.

²⁸ In spite of the opinion of B. Weiss in *Meyer Komm.*,⁹ 1901, p. 635, speaking of the adversative interpretation of πλήν in v. 21, "für welche Bedeutung die Ausleger in der verschiedensten, aber gleich künstlichen Weise eine Anknüpfung an die vorigen (unächtigen) Worte suchen."

ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης. 22 ὅτι ὁ υἱὸς μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κατὰ τὸ ὀρισμένον πορεύεται, πλὴν οὐαὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ δι' οὗ παραδίδοται. The first πλὴν may then be taken with Andersen as expressing a contrast between the "loving fellowship" of Jesus and His disciples and the disposition of Judas. No doubt the contrast is a strong one, though the first member of it is somewhat obscurely indicated in the bare τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου. The contrast is more explicit if vv. 19b, 20 be retained. The immediate context then reads: 20b Τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον ἡ καινὴ διαθήκη ἐν τῷ αἵματί μου, τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον. 21 πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ κ.τ.λ. It is not necessary to suppose that the πλὴν furnishes a restriction of ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν (Hofmann) or that it contrasts the dispositions of Jesus and Judas (Baljon), but that it institutes a contrast between the whole clause τοῦτο τὸ ποτήριον . . . ἐκχυννόμενον and the ἡ χεὶρ . . . τραπέζης. "Though my blood is shed for you, yet the hand of him that betrayeth me is with me on the table. For the Son of Man indeed goeth as it hath been determined (by God)—though God has determined that the Son of Man is to go—yet woe unto that man through whom he is betrayed." Here the contrast is explicit and progressive. Indeed it is not impossible to suppose that Luke has altered Mark's τὸ ἐκχυννόμενον ὑπὲρ πολλῶν to τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον (ὑπὲρ πολλῶν changed to ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, and the order changed) for the sake of the added sharpness which the new form lends to the following contrast. So far from agreeing with Andersen in his contention that v. 21 is more suitable after v. 19a than after v. 20, we seem forced to exactly the opposite conclusion. The parallel which Spitta suggests would be instituted with John xiii. 18 in case v. 21 followed v. 19a is fully contained in v. 21 itself, πλὴν ἰδοὺ ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ παραδιδόντος με μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης.

Grass²⁹ argues for the originality of the short text on the basis of external and transcriptional evidence, but he feels

²⁹ *Das Verhalten zu Jesus nach den Forderungen der "Herrnworte" der drei ersten Evangelien*, Leipzig, 1895, p. 110, Anm. 2.

the difficulty of supposing that the long text has arisen by interpolation from Paul. "It can hardly be supposed that the words are taken from the Pauline account in I Cor xi, for in that case they would be inserted here in closer agreement with the original, while as a matter of fact not unessential differences appear between Luke xxii. 19b, 20 and I Cor xi. 24, 25, which cannot be explained on that hypothesis. The supposition lies closer at hand that the interpolation is taken from the common oral tradition, in which case it is easy to account for minor variations". If under pressure of external and transcriptional evidence we feel compelled to regard vv. 19b, 20 as an interpolation from some source, Grass's suggestion, or Haupt's³⁰ that the interpolation was made from memory, would be well worth our attention. But for the present question it is beside the mark. We are considering the necessity of regarding vv. 19b, 20 as an interpolation on the ground of their similarity to I Cor and Mark, and of the infelicities of the text which these verses present. Grass does not feel the infelicities of the text, and he agrees that the interpolation has not been made from I Cor. We have as yet, therefore, no need for his hypothesis of an interpolation from oral tradition. We are not sure that there has been any interpolation at all. The external evidence raises a presumption for an interpolation, but a presumption which must stand or fall with the internal evidence. Grass agrees, on the basis of the internal evidence, that the interpolation has not been made from Paul. We may turn again to his suggestion, if the transcriptional evidence makes it probable that an interpolation from some source has taken place.

There remains to be considered the positive evidence for the unity of the passage vv. 17-20. Haupt³¹ calls attention to the parallelism between vv. 15, 16 and vv. 17, 18. V. 16 is an undeniable parallel to v. 18: in the former verse

³⁰ *Ueber die ursprüngliche Form u. Bedeutung der Abendmahlsworte*, Universitätsprogramm, Halle, 1894, p. 10.

³¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

Jesus says that He will no more eat of the Passover until it is fulfilled in the Kingdom of God; in the latter, He says that He will not drink of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God shall come. Vv. 15 and 17 afford respectively the ground and introduction for vv. 16 and 18. If v. 19b and v. 20 come from Luke, v. 19 and v. 20 afford another set of parallels. V. 19 reports the institution of the bread, which is neatly paralleled by v. 20 which reports the institution of the wine. We have then three sets of smoothly running parallels, vv. 15, 16; 17, 18; 19, 20, and as Schultzen³² says, "Then vv. 15-20 contain an excellently arranged group of ideas". It may perhaps be added that the parallelism is nicely rounded off by the *πλήν* clause of v. 21, followed by the similar *πλήν* clause of v. 22, and the final v. 23. The argument from this parallelism **cannot** be pressed too far, but the passage displaying it is much more likely to have been written by a narrator who was carefully feeling his way through his material, arranging it in suitable form, than by an interpolator who roughly inserted material which he conceived to be necessary to the sense of the scanty text before him.

It is moreover worth noticing that in the course of our examination of the supposed infelicities of the text of vv. 19b, 20, the reference of the participial clause *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον*, and the contrast of v. 21, *πλήν ἰδοὺ . . . τραπέζης*, that the passage which is suspected of being an interpolation from I Cor and Mark seems necessary to the continuity of the thought of the whole. We found that the *ὑπὲρ πολλῶν* of Mark had been altered to *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν* in order that the metonymy contained in *τὸ ποτήριον* might be consistently carried out. It is precisely the cup which is given to those around the table which carries the figure. An examination of the contrast instituted by the *πλήν* of v. 21 has also revealed the fact that the clause, supposed to be interpolated from Mark, is more intelligible as the first member of the contrast than the

³² *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου of v. 19a. It is precisely the fact that "my blood is shed for you" which sharpens the fact that "the hand of the betrayer is with me on the table". The ποτήριον of v. 17 without the article, and the τὸ ποτήριον of v. 20 with the article, also suggest a text in which even the articles are selected with a careful regard to the meaning intended. These considerations, not of much weight in themselves, taken together with the apparent continuity of vv. 17-20, revealed in the parallelism of verses, constitute an argument of some value in support of the supposition that we have to attribute the passage to a single writer. Add to this presumption the fact that although the suspicion of an interpolation of vv. 19b, 20 was first aroused by their similarity to I Cor. and Mark, a further examination has revealed the difficulties in the way of confirming that suspicion, for not only are the differences considerable and hard to explain, but the infelicities of the text to which final appeal was made have been found capable of explanation, and it may be concluded that the internal difficulty of the long text drawn from the appearance of an interpolation from the parallels is no more insurmountable than that drawn from the presence of two cups.

INTRINSIC DIFFICULTIES OF THE D a ff² i l TEXT.

We have now to consider the intrinsic difficulties of the short text. We need only spread the text attested by D a ff² i l out before us to feel the difficulties which caused b e to invert vv. 17, 18, and Syr^{cu} Syr^{sin} variously to enrich the text. The institution of the cup is narrated before the institution of the bread, an inversion of the traditional order in narration and church praxis. There is an entire lack of the words which in the other accounts of the institution indicate the sacramental significance of the cup. V. 17 merely informs us that "He received a cup, and when He had given thanks, He said, take this and divide it among yourselves". V. 18 immediately follows with the

saying that He will not drink henceforth of the fruit of the vine until the Kingdom of God shall come. There is no hint of any relationship between the wine in the cup and His blood. So far as this account is concerned the cup has no indicated sacramental significance.

Westcott and Hort³³ pass over this second difficulty, but suggest an explanation of the first: "The difficulty of the shorter reading consists exclusively in the change of order as to the Bread and the Cup, which is illustrated by many phenomena of the relation between the narratives of the third and of the first two Gospels, and which finds an exact parallel in the change of order in St. Luke's account of the Temptation (iv. 5-8; 9-12) corrected in like manner in accordance with Mt in some Old Latin MSS. and in Amb." Grass³⁴ draws in for comparison another passage, Lk xi. 30-32 *cf.* Mt xii. 40-42. Appeal has also been made to the order of the prayers in Didache ix. 2, 3, where οὕτως εὐχαριστήσατε πρῶτον περὶ τοῦ ποτηρίου precedes περὶ δὲ τοῦ κλάσματος,³⁵ and to I Cor x. 16. R. A. Hoffmann³⁶ remarks that the Lucan change of the Matthaean order in the temptation narrative relieves the Lucan change to the cup-bread order of its singularity, but does not explain it. It may also be said that it is a very different thing to change the order in an account of two historical events which have given rise to a sacramental practice almost universally in the order bread-cup (if for the moment the cup-bread order in the Didache be accepted) and to change the order of events in a narrative with no liturgical or sacramental significance. A merely literary motive, or a change of order in the temptation-source at Luke's disposal—a change which might easily have taken place since no particular significance attaches itself to the order of the temptations—is sufficient to account for the situation in Lk iv. 5-8, 9-12.

³³ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

³⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 111.

³⁵ *Cf.* Brandt, *Die evangelische Geschichte u. der Ursprung des Christentums*, Leipzig, 1893, p. 301, Anm. 4.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

Some larger motive must have been operative to have caused Luke to depart not only from the Marcan tradition, which was certainly known to him, but also from the almost universal church praxis (admitting again that the Didache is an exception). This larger motive is not suggested by Westcott and Hort. Nor is the additional passage which Grass draws in any more helpful. For even though it be admitted that Luke is no improvement on Matthew, the same considerations urged in the case of the temptation narrative are of even greater weight here.

Whatever may be thought of Zahn's contention³⁷ that the prayers of Didache ix are not intended for the Lord's Supper in the narrower sense but for the preceding Agape, it has not escaped notice that the Didache knows the order bread-cup, ix. 5 *μηδεὶς δὲ φαγέτω μηδὲ πιέτω*; x. 3 *τροφὴν τε καὶ ποτόν*. It is most likely that unconscious habit, established by current usage, emerges here in these incidental references. In respect to the order of I Cor x. 16, it may be said that it is occasioned by the context, and is sufficiently controlled by the formal account of the institution in I Cor xi. 24ff. where the order bread-cup is followed. It is not possible to suppose that Paul has contradicted himself within the limits of the short passage from x. 16 to xi. 24.³⁸

It cannot be maintained that these attempts to explain the unusual order of the elements in the short text have been successful, and yet what Hoffmann³⁹ justly calls "the chief difficulty, the failure of a symbolical reference in the wine" has been left without any explanation. Schmiedel⁴⁰ is finally decided in his rejection of the short text as Lucan by the impossibility "that the Evangelist himself should have furnished us with an account of the Lord's Supper

³⁷ *Forschungen* usw., Erlangen, 1884, iii. p. 293, also *Einleitung*,³ 2ter Bd., p. 364 and Drews in Hennecke, *Neutestamentl. Apokryphen*, Tübingen u. Leipzig, 1904, p. 187.

³⁸ Cf. Haupt, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

³⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁴⁰ *Protestantische Kirchenztg.*, 1896, Sp. 104.

that contains no words of Jesus indicative of the significance of the elements except, 'This is my body', without any explanation of the cup. If it were possible to assert that the account of Luke was the most primitive, then there would be at least a little sense in attributing so singular a form to it. But all the defenders of the shorter text admit that the third Evangelist used the second, if not the first, Gospel, and knew besides the Pauline account". How did it happen that Luke, certainly familiar with the Marcan tradition and the church praxis, wrote an account of the Lord's Supper in which there is nothing to indicate the sacramental significance of the wine? This phenomenon, together with the placing of the cup before the bread, has given rise to many hypotheses on the part of the defenders of the short text.

(a) There is the explanation offered by Grass⁴¹: "So far as the brevity is concerned, the Evangelist did not need to report in detail the words which in any case were among the best known of our Lord's sayings. The words in explanation of the bread indicate sufficiently what is here narrated." It is hardly conceivable that Luke who prefaces his Gospel as he does, should have omitted "words which in any case were among the best known of our Lord's sayings" because he did not need to quote them in order to aid his readers in identifying vv. 17, 18 as an intended account of the Lord's Supper. They might conjecture his purpose from the *τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου* in connection with the bread. The character of Luke's Gospel is a sufficient refutation of Grass's hypothesis.

(b) Haupt⁴² suggests that the short text originated through a misunderstanding on the part of the author of the third Gospel. "It can, moreover, be proved that Luke was not led to place the cup before the bread by any tradition to that effect which lay before him, but by a misun-

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, p. III.

⁴² *Op. cit.*, p. 10f. Cf. Rogaar, *Het Avondmaal en zijne oorspronkelijke Beteekenis*, Groningen, 1897, pp. 31f.

derstanding of the source which he used. Luke found the sayings, vv. 15, 16 and vv. 17, 18, which belong together, in the source peculiar to him in their correct position, as an introduction to the Last Supper. A confusion of the first half of the words of Jesus with the Lord's Supper was impossible, for they speak of the eating of the paschal lamb, while bread is eaten in the Supper. But Luke could well confuse the saying of v. 17, according to which Jesus gave the cup to His disciples with the Lord's Supper cup, and therefore omit it in its proper place, thinking that he had already given an account of it." Both Schmiedel⁴³ and Hehn⁴⁴ have been quick to remark that if Luke mistook the first cup of his source for the Lord's Supper cup, his source must have been one in which two cups were mentioned, first a paschal cup, then a Lord's Supper cup, that is to say, a source like our present longer Lucan text. The longer text is then older than the shorter, and the mistake which the defenders of the short text hesitate to attribute to a copyist, namely the mistaking of the cup of v. 17 for the Lord's Supper cup and the omission of vv. 19a, 20 under the impression that the Lord's Supper cup had already been reported and from which the Daff²il text originated, is attributed to Luke himself. The suggestion advanced by Haupt, if it be accepted, is a direct confirmation of the greater antiquity of the longer text.

(c) It is also possible that the shorter text of Luke preserves a more accurate account of the institution of the Lord's Supper than Matthew, Mark or Paul. This view has been strongly urged by W. Brandt.⁴⁵ Brandt denies any original temporal or ideal connection between the Passover and the Lord's Supper. The Last Supper was the ordinary evening meal which Jesus was accustomed to eat with His disciples (p. 294). At that meal, He broke the bread and divided it among them that by their sharing it

⁴³ *Prot. Kztg.*, 1896, Sp. 105.

⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 283ff., Cf. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 15f., Schmiedel, *Prot. Kztg.*, 1896, Sp. 105f.

they might signify the fact that they belonged to one family (p. 295). Not so with the cup. The whole idea of the significant relationship between the cup and the blood of the covenant, as it appears in the present Marcan text, is a later addition under the influence of Pauline theology (pp. 289, 290). The same may be said of the announcement of Jesus that He will not drink of the fruit of the vine until He drinks it in the Kingdom of God (p. 292). Since the words which make the cup significant do not go back of Paul, it is easy to conjecture that the cup was not regarded as important either in the *Urgemeinde* or at the Last Supper itself (p. 292). This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that the Lord's Supper is called *ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου* (Lk xxiv. 35, Acts ii. 42) in the best accounts of its celebration (p. 292). The uncertainty proven by Ad. Harnack with reference to the proper contents of the cup, whether water or mixed wine, that continued until the middle of the second century, is best explained if the mother church had furnished no tradition with reference to the cup (p. 293). Paul is responsible for making the Lord's Supper into a memorial of the death of Jesus (p. 295): the connection with the Passover is first found in Mk (p. 297). It is only after the destruction of Jerusalem, when, because it was impossible to secure lambs for the Passover meal, bread and the cups became the chief ingredients of the Passover, that the similarity between the Lord's Supper and the Passover was apparent enough to allow the conjecture of their original coincidence. The Evangelists represent Jesus as celebrating the Passover as it was customary in their day, not in His (p. 297). This representation of the Lord's Supper as a Passover had two consequences. (1) Wine which was probably not from the first part of the Supper, became, under the influence of the Passover cups, one of the essential ingredients (p. 297). (2) The order of cup-bread, represented by the shorter text of Luke, which Brandt accepts (*cf.* p. 301, Anm. 4) is an adaptation of the Lord's Supper to the Passover ritual,

in which the meal was introduced by a cup (one of four) which was the "cup of blessing" in the most significant sense (p. 302). Neither Matthew nor Mark ventured on this further approximation of the Lord's Supper to the Passover. The Lucan short text makes the venture.

It is clear that Brandt has an interest in maintaining the originality of the short text. The failure of any indication of a connection between the cup and sacrificial blood makes the cup an incidental rather than an integral part of the Supper. The words concerning the bread stop short of the Pauline *ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*, and may be interpreted in accordance with I Cor x. 16, 17. Moreover, the order cup-bread is made to support Brandt's contention of a later adaptation of the Lord's Supper to the Passover. Luke's short text preserves, on Brandt's theory, a truer account of the Lord's Supper in the first two respects, the incidental character of the cup, and the interpretation of the bread as a symbol of community among its partakers. In the cup-bread order, however, it represents the last stage in a process in which Mark, Matthew and Paul are intermediate.

Brandt cites *Pesachim* x : 2 as evidence that the first cup of the Jewish Passover was "the cup of blessing" *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. There, however, the first cup is called merely *כוס ראשון* and there is no indication that the first cup is called the "cup of blessing". With whatever cup of the Passover ritual the cup of v. 17 be identified,⁴⁶ it seems certain that the third cup was the "cup of blessing", by eminence.⁴⁷ In the present state of our knowledge of the Passover ritual of the time, and of the closeness with which Jesus' adherence to it is represented by the Synop- tists, it seems impossible to affirm with Brandt that Luke in the short text ventures upon a closer approximation of the Lord's Supper to the Passover than do Matthew and Mark.

⁴⁶ Cf. Wünsche, *Neue Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Evangelien aus Talmud u. Midrasch*, 1878, p. 485, for the view that it was the first cup, and Resch as cited above for the view that it was the third cup.

⁴⁷ Cf. Lightfoot, *Horae Hebraicae* on Mt xxvi. 27; Schmiedel, *Hand-Comm.* on I Cor x. 16; Spitta, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

Brandt's argument that the cup was originally of merely incidental significance in the celebration of the Lord's Supper rests on Harnack's contention in his *Brod und Wasser: die eucharistischen Elemente bei Justin (Texte u. Untersuchungen, vii, 1891, pp. 117ff.)*, and on the designation of the Lord's Supper as ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου in Lk xxiv. 35; Acts ii. 42 (to which may be added with equal pertinency Acts ii. 46; xx. 11). It may be affirmed with confidence that Luke xxiv. 35 does not relate a celebration of the Lord's Supper. In the other passages, if it be admitted that the Lord's Supper is referred to, it is probable that the whole sacrament is conveniently described by naming a part of it, "the breaking of the bread". Harnack's contention rests upon an extremely doubtful interpretation of passages in Justin and Cyprian. It has been entirely deprived of any evidential value by the thorough examination and refutation to which it has been subjected by Jülicher, Zahn and Funk.⁴⁸

There remains only the interpretation of the bread as a symbol of community. It is a possible interpretation for τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου, but by no means the only possible interpretation and merely serves to relate the short text of Luke more closely to Mark and Matthew than to Paul. Apart from general considerations which could be urged against Brandt's whole construction of the Gospel history, it appears that his theory that the short text of Luke presents an account of the institution of the Lord's Supper more closely in accord with the primitive facts than the other Synoptists or Paul breaks down on examination.

Schultzen⁴⁹ proposes two explanations in case the short-

⁴⁸ Jülicher, *Zur Geschichte der Abendmahlsfeier in der ältesten Kirche, Theol. Abhandlungen C. von Weizsäcker . . . gewidmet*, 1892, pp. 215-250; Zahn, *Brot u. Wein im Abendmahl der alten Kirche, Neue kirchliche Zeitung*, III Jahrgang, 1892, pp. 261-262, also printed separately, 1892; Funk, *Die Abendmahlselemente bei Justin, Theol. Quartalschrift*, 74 Jahrgang, 1892, pp. 643-659; cf. Harnack in *Theol. Lititzg.*, 1892, Sp. 374-378, *Dogmengesch.*,³ iter Bd., pp. 64f.

⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 110f.

er text is held to be original. The author of the Gospel may have misunderstood his sources, and so omitted a second cup reported by them : a view which has already been discussed. Or he may preserve a truer tradition than either Mark or Matthew. Originally the cup had no more meaning for the Lord's Supper than it had for the Passover. The eating of the broken bread was the essential thing in the whole celebration. As long as the celebration was held daily, it consisted solely in the breaking of bread. As the celebration became more ceremonial, the wine was added—perhaps also in remembrance of the fact that Jesus drank wine at the Last Supper—until the use of wine became an integral part of the sacrament. Or the use of wine was a part of the sacrament from the first, but it was originally unaccompanied by any words explanatory of its significance. But the fact that the bread and wine appeared side by side in the sacrament, and the bread was accompanied by a *τοῦτό ἐστιν* led to the enrichment of the account by the addition of a *τοῦτό ἐστιν* for the wine. Either the mother church or Paul is responsible for the specification of the blood as "the blood of the covenant". If Jesus spoke accompanying words only in connection with the bread—and in the shorter text there is no specific reference to the actual eating of the bread or to a repetition of the sacrament—it is possible that we have to do with a purely symbolical act designed by Jesus to make the disciples understand the significance of His death. The account is much more indefinite and gives room for the liveliest play of fancy.

Schultzen's suggestion, made in a less reconstructive spirit than Brandt's, fails not only in not accounting for the presence of the cup before the bread in the Lucan narrative, but, what is much more serious, fails to account for the presence of the cup, ranged alongside the bread on terms of sacramental equality in Matthew, Mark and Paul. The tradition in Mark (Matthew) is at least as old as that in Luke. Paul's tradition goes back of his first visit to Corinth

on the second missionary journey.⁵⁰ That is to say, at the time the third Gospel was written, there was widely current a tradition in which the bread preceded the cup, and both were equally accompanied with words indicative of their sacramental significance—a tradition, moreover, at least in the latter respect (the Didache adding its testimony), followed by the church praxis. If Jesus divided a cup at the Last Supper, in conformity to common usage, but left it without sacramental designation, we must suppose that very early the mother church or Paul arbitrarily added the specification of the wine as the blood of the new covenant, and totally altered the character of the Lord's Supper by elevating their own institution of the cup to an equality with our Lord's institution of the bread. This *tour de force* was unquestioned except by Luke's negative attitude and was universally accepted in the church praxis. If the wine itself was added, as the celebration of the sacrament became more ceremonial, the difficulty of understanding the motive for the alteration of the character of the Supper is not only intrinsically enhanced, but the shorter Lucan account is itself at variance with the primitive usage (δεξάμενος ποτήριον). The early and unanimous testimony of Mark (Matthew) and Paul makes it almost certain that from the first the cup was of equal sacramental importance with the bread, and that our Lord indicated its sacramental significance Himself, in which case it is not possible to hold that the shorter Lucan text preserves a truer tradition than Mark (Matthew) or Paul.

(d) We must also reckon with the possibility that the short account of the Lord's Supper was set down by Luke in obedience to some religio-dogmatic tendency. This explanation in its simplest form is suggested by Schultzen.⁵¹ "There remains only one way out, that Luke, in contrast to Mark and Paul, intends to relate significant words of

⁵⁰ I Cor xi. 23, Ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου, ὃ καὶ παρέδωκα ὑμῖν κ.τ.λ.

⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

Jesus only in connection with the bread. It is improbable that he himself took offense at the drinking of blood: he must be following here a Jewish-Christian source, in which the words concerning the cup were lacking—the idea which they express might afford difficulties for Jewish Christians. If Matthew were under discussion, that might be possible. But it is impossible to see why Luke, who is so well acquainted with Pauline ideas, and who so intentionally emphasizes the equality of Jews and Gentiles, should have given the preference exactly here to a Jewish-Christian source over the accounts of Paul and Mark, which he knew." In other words, this suggestion, first presupposes the Jewish Christian offense at the drinking of the wine as symbolical of the blood, holding that their offense took objective shape in an account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, and then discovers itself unable to demonstrate how Luke, who shows such an opposite disposition in his Gospel, came to yield to the representations of his Jewish-Christian source in the face of the unanimous testimony of the tradition known to him. Moreover, it is perhaps unnecessary to remark that this view does not account for the order cup-bread.

Johannes Weiss⁵² supposes that in many passages Luke has used a Jewish-Christian source, *e. g.* in xxii. 25-30, where he omits the Pauline *λύτρον* of Mk x. 45, and above all in the Lord's Supper account of the short text. The characteristic of this Jewish-Christian source in Luke, and of the similar Petrine speeches in Acts, and of the Epistle of James is the suppression of the sacrificial significance of the death of Christ. "In this account (Lk xxii. 17, 18, 19a) as it came from the old Jewish-Christian church at Jerusalem, there is lacking any indication of the significance

⁵² Meyer-Weiss, *Marcus u. Lucas*,⁸ 1892, pp. 617ff., and *Die Predigt Jesu, vom Reiche Gottes*,² Göttingen, 1900, pp. 102ff., *cf.* Schaeffer, Spitta, *op. cit.*, pp. 299ff., Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 15; Schmiedel, *Prot. Kstg.*, 1896, Sp. 104.

of the death of Christ for the salvation of the disciples⁵³." The short account in Luke is without the Pauline indications of the significance of Jesus' death: "the body given for you", the cup as "the covenant on the ground of my blood which is poured out for you", and the command for the repetition of the sacrament. The Lord's Supper is a farewell meal, in which the cup is drunk and bread eaten as a symbol of the personal communion of Jesus with His disciples—a communion that was to continue after His death.

It is doubtful whether the phenomena to which Weiss has called attention are sufficiently weighty to necessitate the hypothesis of a Jewish-Christian source departing so widely from the common tradition of the *Urgemeinde*. Moreover, Spitta⁵⁴ has remarked the fact that a reference to the sacrificial character of the death of Jesus is present in the short text, for the body of Christ is there thought of as parallel to the body of the Passover lamb. Even if it be denied that any reference to the sacrificial death of Christ is to be found in the *ἐκλασεν*—the reference is certainly not impossible—yet the fact that the words concerning the bread are the same in the Lucan short text as in Mark and Matthew's account of the Lord's Supper where the express connection between the wine and blood precludes the Jewish-Christian tendency, still further militates against Weiss's hypothesis. Moreover, as Hoffmann⁵⁵ points out, if the author of the source had desired to eliminate any reference to the meaning of the death of Christ for salvation, he would have done it by omitting the addition to *τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ αἷμά μου*, not the words themselves. And why did he change the order? Surely that

⁵³ *Komm.* p. 619. Weiss does not mean to deny that Jesus regarded His death as having significance for salvation. It was unnecessary for the salvation of the disciples, as they were already partakers of it, but was essential for the yet unrepentant people, cf. *Predigt*, pp. 102ff. He, however, sometimes fails to make the limitation, cf. *Predigt*, p. 198.

⁵⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 299.

⁵⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

procedure was not necessary to accomplish the suppression he desired. In view of the result of our examination of the suggested tendencies, we are safe in saying that the short text of Luke was not written under the influence of a religio-dogmatic tendency.

In fact, Schmiedel seems to be right in saying that the shorter Lucan text is "simply inexplicable".⁵⁶ It is not sufficient to suppose that the author intended merely to indicate the general background, and not to work in the details of the Supper. If Luke wrote the short text under a misunderstanding of his sources, the two-cup source must be older than the shorter Lucan text. The short text does not present a more accurate picture of the institution than the other Synoptists or Paul. It was not written under the influence of any assignable religio-dogmatic tendency. On intrinsic grounds, we must reject its originality. The longer text has internal difficulties, indeed, but difficulties capable of alleviation, and in no way comparable to the intrinsic difficulties of the short text. Our examination of the intrinsic evidence has more than reversed the presumption raised in favor of the short text by the examination of the external evidence, a presumption itself raised on the basis of internal evidence. There yet remains to be examined the transcriptional evidence.

TRANSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE OF THE D a ff² i l TEXT.

On the hypothesis that the short text is original, our problem is to determine how a copyist having before him the short text might come to alter it into the long form. As already pointed out the short text would contain two causes of offense to a copyist, (1) the order cup-bread, (2) the lack of any sacramental words in connection with the cup. Under these two influences, we are to suppose that a copyist having before him an exemplar in which vv. 17, 18, 19a constituted an account of the Lord's Supper, enlarged it to the form vv. 17, 18, 19, 20. Some questions

⁵⁶ "einfach unerhört", *Hand-Comm.* p. 269.

emerge with reference to the offense lying in the order cup-bread. If the copyist regarded the cup of v. 17 as the Lord's Supper cup, why did he not simply invert the order of verses as b e have done, giving us the order vv. 19a, 17, 18? Perhaps it is sufficient to say that his account would still be without sacramental words in connection with the cup. However, it is worth noticing that the simple inversion satisfied the copyists of b e. If the copyist did not regard the cup of v. 17 as the Lord's Supper cup, why did he let it stand? It is hardly probable that he left it in order nicely to indicate the relationship between the Lord's Supper and the Passover. Perhaps it is sufficient to appeal with Zahn, in another connection, to the reluctance of the church to part with any early tradition; though it may reasonably be objected that the Western text and not the Neutral is chiefly notable for its preservation of more or less incongruous bits of tradition. It may also be regarded as possible that so long as the copyist was enriching his account by the introduction of the familiar Lord's Supper cup in the Pauline form, he found it natural to introduce *διδόμενον* in v. 19b and to add the *τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον* of v. 20 from Mark. Or he may have interpolated from oral tradition or from memory, which is much more likely. The internal difficulties attaching to this supposition have already been pointed out. It must moreover be admitted that the history of the text, that is to say, of the forms presented by b e and Syr^{cu} and Syr^{sin} are capable of explanation only on the hypothesis that the text-form D a ff² i l lay before the copyists. Graefe's⁵⁷ attempt to explain Syr^{cu}, Syr^{sin}, b e directly from \aleph ABCL etc. is not impressive. D a ff² i l must be regarded as the parent of b e, Syr^{cu}, Syr^{sin}. In b e the traditional order bread-cup has been restored by a simple inversion of v. 19a, giving us a text in the order, vv. 19a, 17, 18. No attempt has been made at enrichment of the account in respect of sacramental words with the cup. Syr^{cu} and

⁵⁷ *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1896, pp. 250-256.

Syr^{s1n} have felt this serious deficiency of the text and have variously supplied it from the Pauline account. It is unnecessary to determine whether Syr^{cu} and Syr^{s1n} have made the inversion of v. 19a independently of b e or whether they depend on b e for it. Syr^{s1n} with its vv. 19, 20a, 17, 20b, 18 has carried the process of enrichment further than Syr^{cu} with its vv. 19, 17, 18. That the Syriac texts have been much worked over in this section is proven by the fact that the Peschitta, the Sinaitic and the Curetonian Syriac each translate the *γενήματος τοῦ* of v. 18 by a different word. We must conclude that, looked at from the point of view of transcriptional evidence, it is possible that **ⲛ** ABCL etc. has been derived from D a ff² i 1, though the supposition is not without its difficulties.

TRANSCRIPTIONAL EVIDENCE OF THE **ⲛ**ABCL etc. TEXT.

We must now examine the transcriptional evidence on the hypothesis that the long text is original. Here the problem is to determine how a copyist having before him the long form of the text might come to alter it to the short form. As Westcott and Hort indicate, the perception of the fact that the long form contained two cups is the only apparent reason for the omission of vv. 19b, 20. The copyist saw two cups in the exemplar: he omitted the latter one. He must have regarded the cup of v. 17 as the Lord's Supper cup.

Holtzheuer⁵⁸ is unwilling to attribute the thoughtlessness which would regard the cup of v. 17 as the Lord's Supper cup either to Luke or to a copyist. He asserts that there are two possibilities: either the Evangelist meant only to give a rapid sketch, without pretending to fill in the details, a view already discussed; or some physical accident has caused a hole in the manuscript from which the witnesses of the short text are descended. He is quite justly unwilling to let the latter suggestion stand alone: it rests on no more satisfactory basis than the former. Berning⁵⁹

⁵⁸ *Das Abendmahl u. die neuere Kritik*, Berlin, 1896, pp. 26f.

⁵⁹ *Die Einsetzung der hl. Eucharistie*, Münster i. W., 1901, p. 42.

is probably right when he dismisses the hypothesis of a hole in the manuscript, "for no one will seriously agree with the view of Holtzheuer".⁶⁰

Joh. Weiss⁶¹ holds that "an omission of these highly important words on the part of a copyist is simply unthinkable". But the fact remains that we must attribute their omission either to a copyist or to Luke. The former seems the better alternative in view of the intrinsic difficulties of the short text. Spitta⁶² replies to Weiss: "We do not owe the manifold additions of the Codex D to a mere copyist. We cannot decide merely on the basis of our own feelings whether the conservation of the words of v. 20 or the harmonizing of Luke with the other two Synoptists by the omission of the one cup, appeared more important to the person in question."

Two difficulties have been raised in the way of the hypothesis that the copyist omitted vv. 19b, 20 in order to harmonize his account with that of the other Synoptists in respect of the number of cups it reports.

(1) Westcott and Hort⁶³ ask why he did not choose for omission the less familiar words of v. 17.

(2) Why did he omit v. 19b, which has no connection with either of the cups?

In regard to the first question, Schmiedel⁶⁴ remarks, "Westcott and Hort silently admit that the shorter text of the Lord's Supper is simply inexplicable when they find it impossible to understand why the copyists of D etc. chose for omission the familiar Lord's Supper words instead of xxii. 17." Is it more difficult to suppose that a copyist omitted the familiar words of v. 20 or that Luke failed to report them? Spitta⁶⁵ has called attention to the fact that

⁶⁰ Resch's view that the short text is due to the activity of a Jewish-Christian redactor, working over the original text, is sufficiently answered by Berning, *op. cit.*, pp. 30ff.

⁶¹ Meyer-Weiss, *Marcus u. Lucas*, as cited, p. 616.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

⁶³ *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

⁶⁴ *Hand-Comm.*, p. 269.

⁶⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 296.

v. 17 has a number of points of agreement with the Synoptic narrative, which are lacking in v. 20 : the taking of the cup, the blessing of it, the command to take it, and to drink it together. These similarities of v. 17 to the Synoptic narrative, though no doubt somewhat superficial, might have influenced a copyist to select v. 17 for preservation instead of v. 20, if we may conceive that before he had written v. 17 he was aware of the second cup in v. 20. However, as will immediately appear, he probably did not notice the cup of v. 20 until he had already transcribed the cup of v. 17.

The second question (why the copyist omitted v. 19b, which is not connected with either cup) has given rise to a lively discussion concerning the amount of cleverness to be attributed to the copyist under consideration. Schmiedel⁶⁶ opened the matter by asserting : "On the other hand, it is possible that a copyist and only a copyist, remarking in the midst of his writing the disconcerting appearance of a second cup, might have remedied his difficulty by a simple omission of that which he had not yet written, and in doing so, allowed the quite innocent closing words of xxii. 19 to fall out with them." Brandt⁶⁷ replied : "A copyist who saw beyond the closing words of xxii. 19 could see far enough to realize that these words had nothing to do with the second cup. A really stupid copyist, on the other hand, would not have been bewildered until he actually reached v. 20." The dilemma was not without its effect on Schmiedel⁶⁸ who answered : "What a copyist would or would not do, according to the degree of his cleverness, will doubtless always be a disputable question. For that very reason I have not advanced my suggestion on this point as decisive, as my expression 'might have' shows, but I advanced it only as a proof that my view, which rests on other grounds, could be carried through in this point also. What I regarded as decisive was the impossibility of conceiving that

⁶⁶ *Hand-Comm.*, p. 269.

⁶⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 584.

⁶⁸ *Prot. Kztg.*, 1896, Sp. 103.

the Evangelist himself should have furnished us with an account of the Lord's Supper that contains no words of Jesus indicative of the significance of the elements except 'This is my body' without any explanation of the cup."

Fortunately it is not necessary to determine the mental dullness of the copyist with any great precision, nor is it necessary to fall in with the somewhat naive suggestion of Schultzen⁶⁹ that toward the end of the book the copyist worked with particular haste "perhaps because times of persecution made haste necessary. This conjecture explains most simply why precisely these chapters are so rich in additions: the copyist had a scanty text and enlarged it more than was necessary or good". It is manifestly improbable that a copyist would enrich a text because he was afraid of imminent interruption by the inquisition.

Hoffmann's⁷⁰ suggestion is less interesting but more valuable. The copyist omits the cup of v. 20 because the Synoptic tradition with which he was familiar records only one cup. He omits v. 19b, leaving τοῦτό ἐστιν τὸ σῶμά μου without the τὸ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἐκχυννόμενον because Mark (Matthew) reports the words of Jesus concerning the significance of the bread in that simple fashion.

A survey of the transcriptional evidence thus brings us to no definite conclusion. We must rely upon the external and the intrinsic evidence for our final decision.

We have now completed our examination of the evidence for the texts attested by \aleph ABCL etc. and D a ff² i l. The external evidence raises a presumption in favor of the shorter text, but a presumption itself based on internal evidence, and requiring the support of the internal evidence for its confirmation in any particular case. Westcott and Hort rest their argument for the short text largely on intrinsic and transcriptional evidence. Our examination of the transcriptional evidence has yielded no positive result. The intrinsic evidence, however, is strongly against

⁶⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

⁷⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 21.

the originality of the shorter text—so strongly indeed that we feel justified in agreeing with Schultzen⁷¹ when he says: “The internal difficulties noticed above make it as good as certain that the Lucan text originally included vv. 15-20.”

THE TEXT OF b e (SYR^{cu} SYR^{sia}).

There yet remains for discussion the third form of text, the originality of which has been advocated by Dean Blakesley⁷² and Th. Zahn.⁷³ Scrivener⁷⁴ thought that the argument of Dean Blakesley in favor of this text had not received the attention it deserved, though he himself argues against it. The same text has, however, been more recently advocated by Th. Zahn, who asserts that its originality seems to him certain. The attestation of this text falls into three groups, b e, and its interpolated forms Syr^{cu} and Syr^{sia}. Its originality is supported first by comparison with the group D a ff² i l, and finally by a further comparison with the group Σ ABCL etc. Very serious difficulties are encountered in the progress of the argument. The difficulties emerge first in the attempted demonstration of the originality of the group b e Syr^{cu} Syr^{sia} as against the group D a ff² i l, which Zahn maintains on the basis of two considerations.

(1) The ancient character of the Latin witnesses b e, with which Syr^{cu} and Syr^{sia} are in essential agreement, in comparison with a ff² i l, proves that the former is a more original Latin form from which the latter is derived. The texts attested by these two groups of witnesses are similar in every respect except the order of verses. They are both without the second cup, both destitute of any indication of the sacramental significance of the cup, and both have the short Synoptic “hoc est corpus meum”. But b e preserves the traditional order, the bread then the cup, vv. 19a-17-18, while a ff² i l has the order, otherwise attested

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁷² *Praelectio in Scholis Cantab.*, Feb. 14, 1850.

⁷³ *Einleitung*,³ 2ter Bd., pp. 363ff.

⁷⁴ *A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the N. T.*,² 1874, pp. 519ff., unchanged in the 3rd and 4th ed., Miller.

only by D, cup-bread, vv. 17-18-19a. How did it happen that a copyist with the usual order before him changed it, instituting a new and unattested order, while he preserved the exact wording of his exemplar to the smallest detail? Zahn answers: Under the influence of the text represented by \aleph ABCL etc., which gradually came to be the dominating text even in the West. The order of the \aleph ABCL etc. text was all the more readily appropriated because of the apparently passable *parallelismus membrorum* which it establishes between vv. 15, 16 and vv. 17, 18. On closer examination the answer seems insufficient. It is impossible to see why, if the parallelism between vv. 15, 16 and vv. 17, 18 was sufficiently striking to cause the copyist to change the order of verses in his exemplar so as to present the entirely new order cup-bread, contrary to all tradition, it was not strong enough to cause him to add vv. 19b, 20 to his scanty v. 19a, which standing alone would mar the symmetry of his account, but which with the addition of vv. 19b, 20 would complete the parallelism vv. 15, 16; vv. 17, 18; vv. 19, 20. Or, if it be objected that he would not add v. 20 because of the difficulty of the second cup, it may be answered, that if he felt that difficulty, he must have considered the cup of v. 17 to be the Lord's Supper cup. The failure of any indication of a relationship between the cup and the blood must have given offense to him, as Zahn remarks at another point in his argument. "On the other hand, every one must have taken offense at the fact that Luke did not correlate the cup with the blood and that he in no way indicated its sacramental significance". It is perhaps possible to see how a copyist, having no account before him in which the relationship of the cup to the blood was indicated, might be content to pass the difficulty over in silence, but it is hard to see how a copyist who so far stood under the influence of a text containing a full indication of the sacramental significance of the cup as to invert the order of his exemplar and establish an order cup-bread, merely for the sake of a somewhat uncertain symmetry, and

in contradiction to known tradition, could have failed to remedy a condition which must have given offense to every one, when the material lay so richly at his hand. It is much simpler to suppose that the copyist, being fully aware of the liturgical order bread-cup, did what he could to conform his account to tradition by simply inverting the order of his exemplar, and establishing the order 19a-17-18.

(2) The text of D a ff² i l cannot be original because in it the only cup which D a ff² i l or b e have is placed before the bread. This order contradicts all tradition both of the New Testament, Marcion and Tatian, as well as the liturgical praxis. I Cor cannot be appealed to because it is impossible that Paul would contradict himself in the short passage x. 16-xi. 23. The Didache knows the order food-drink, and the prayers in chap. ix. do not belong to the Lord's Supper in the narrower sense but to the introductory Agape. This argument, if its validity be admitted and the interpretation of I Cor x. 16 and the Didache be allowed to stand, proves indeed that D a ff² i l cannot be original, but it requires the demonstration of the relationship between b e and D a ff² i l asserted in (1) to constitute a proof of the originality of b e. As we have seen, it is impossible to maintain that relationship, and the legitimate result of the argument is to cast suspicion on the originality of both b e and D a ff² i l.

The real burden of Zahn's proof must, however, be borne by the comparison of b e and \aleph ABCL etc. He concludes that b e preserves the original text on the following grounds.

(1) The age of attestation. But it is not so apparent that the text attested by b e has the advantage in age over the text attested by \aleph ABCL etc.

(2) The history of the text. The origin of b e from \aleph ABCL etc. is just as inexplicable as the origin of \aleph ABCL etc. from b e is explicable. No Christian of an earlier or later date could take offense at the well known words of vv. 19b, 20, taken partly from Mark and partly from Paul. How then explain their omission by b e if \aleph ABCL etc. is

original ? "On the other hand, every one must have taken offense at the fact that Luke did not correlate the cup with the blood and that he has in no way indicated its sacramental significance". But since in early times the Gospel of Luke was considered the Gospel of Paul there was nothing more natural than an enlargement of his scanty text from I Cor. But in accordance with an effective canon of the old textual criticism which hesitated to lose any old tradition that was in accordance with ecclesiastical taste, the cup of v. 17, forced from its position by the interpolation of the cup of v. 20, was simply placed before the institution of the sacrament. Both the negative and the positive aspects of this argument contain difficulties. It is perhaps true that no early Christian would take offense at the words of vv. 19a, 20. There is no difficulty in the words themselves, but there is a difficulty in the fact that they furnish an account of a second cup. Suppose the \aleph ABCL etc. text original, a copyist having written down the account of the first cup, might easily be surprised by the emergence of another cup and have remedied the situation by simply omitting v. 20 and with it v. 19a. As Berning⁷⁵ suggests, the difficulty is measurably lightened when D a ff² i l is considered a middle member between \aleph ABCL etc. and b e (Syr^{sa} Syr^{cu}). If D a ff² i l is a correction of \aleph ABCL etc. caused by the two cups, b e is a correction of D a ff² i l caused by the unusual cup-bread order, and Syr^{cu} and Syr^{sa} are interpolations of b e in the endeavor to enrich the cup-words. The reason Zahn suggests for the enlargement of b e into \aleph ABCL etc. is the failure of any sacramental significance attached to the cup, that significance being supplied in \aleph ABCL etc. from Mark and Paul. If the failure of these sacramentally significant words was so offensive to every reader of the Gospel, how did the author of the Gospel, with Mark before him, and with a knowledge of the liturgical praxis, if not indeed of the Pauline tradition, come to write so inexplicably poor an account of the Supper ? On the supposi-

⁷⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

tion that the b e text is original we have a strange and unmotivated procedure on the part of the author of the Gospel; on the supposition that \aleph ABCL etc. is original, a motive for the omission of vv. 19b, 20 is supplied in the difficulty relative to the two cups. The latter supposition seems the easier.

(3) Zahn advances as a third argument the infelicity of v. 20, which we have already discussed. He concludes that vv. 19b, 20 cannot be attributed to Luke but must be the work of a copyist.

A review of Zahn's argument for the originality of b e in comparison with \aleph ABCL etc. reveals the fact that both the external and internal evidence are against his contention. The intrinsic evidence advanced by him, even if it be allowed its full weight, makes as strongly for the originality of D a ff² i l as it does for b e. We have found that the originality of b e in comparison with D a ff² i l cannot be maintained.

It is perhaps worth while to call attention to Zahn's explanation of the character of the text which he holds to be original. How did Luke come to write an account of the Lord's Supper in which the sacramental significance of the wine was not indicated? Zahn⁷⁶ answers somewhat as follows: The striking poverty of the account of the institution in the shorter Lucan text is to be accounted for by supposing that it was written for non-Christian readers. Gentile calumnies, attaching themselves to the Christian sacrament of the Supper, were early circulated. Though they cannot be proven to have been current at the time the third Gospel was written, yet we may conjecture their currency from this passage. Luke did not wish to unveil this most sacred *mysterium* of the Christian faith to the uninitiated. The word concerning the bread might be interpreted merely as a highly significant parabolic saying (*tief-sinnige Bildrede*), but he provides against a crass misunderstanding of the eating of the body and drinking of the

⁷⁶ *Einleitung*,³ 2ter Bd., p. 382.

blood by omitting the mention of these features of the sacrament. That is to say, Luke suppresses the significance of the cup, not because the Jewish-Christians would take offense at the drinking of the wine, symbolical of blood, but because the Gentile non-Christians might take offense at it. He will not reveal the sacramental mystery of Christianity lest it be misinterpreted and traduced. He guards against misinterpretation by so obscuring the significance of the cup that the freest play is left for the imagination in discovering its meaning. The bread, representative of the body, is placed in significant relationship to the body of the Pass-over lamb, and is not merely a "*Bildrede*"—so far the uninitiated may see clearly into the Christian mystery, but they must construct the meaning of the cup out of the current calumnies, if they be presupposed. It cannot be said that Zahn's attempt to explain the intrinsic difficulty of the text of b e is any more successful than his endeavor to maintain its originality on external and transcriptional grounds.

The text attested by b e is certainly not the original text of Lk xxii. 17-20. Intrinsic difficulties make it impossible to suppose the originality of the text attested by D a ff² i 1. The text of **Σ**ABCL etc., with its impressive external evidence and its illuminating addition to our knowledge of the Last Supper, at which the Christian sacrament was first instituted, is the original text of Luke's Gospel in this passage.

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REVIEWS OF RECENT LITERATURE

PHILOSOPHICAL LITERATURE.

EPOCHS OF PHILOSOPHY: STOIC AND EPICUREAN. By R. D. HICKS, M.A., Fellow and formerly Lecturer of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo.; pp. xix, 412. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910.

EPOCHS OF PHILOSOPHY: THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT. By JOHN GRIER HIBBEN, Ph.D., LL.D., Stuart Professor of Logic, Princeton University. 8vo.; pp. xii, 311. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1910.

The aim of this new series of books on the history of thought is, to quote the editor, Professor Hibben, "to present the significant features of philosophical thought in the chief periods of its development," and "to emphasize especially those doctrines which have appeared as effective factors in the evolution of philosophic thought as a whole." If we may judge the series by these, the first two issues in it, will fulfill its purpose.

Mr. Hicks may not say the last word on his subject; but he gives us the cream of all that has been said on it up to date, and he does this with completeness and discrimination which leave nothing to be desired. "The Earlier Stoics and Pantheism," "Stoic Psychology and Epistemology," "Moral Idealism," "The Teaching of the Later Stoics," "Epicurus and Hedonism," "The Atomic Theory," "The Epicurean Theology," "Scepticism in the Academy," "Eclecticism," "Aenesidemus and the Revival of Pyrrhonism"—these titles indicate the course of Mr. Hicks's exposition, but they can give only an inadequate idea of the range and the depth of his scholarship. We shall look far before we shall find a better, if, indeed, we can find so good, an account of the Atomic Theory as that with which he has presented us. Not the least valuable features of his volume are the "Chronological Table," with which it opens, and the "Select Bibliography," with which it closes.

Professor Hibben's book is not less scholarly than the one just noticed. Nevertheless, it is not his scholarship that most impresses the reader. It is rather his skill in exposition, his grasp on the period as a whole, his ability to bring out its relation to both the past and the present development of thought,—in a word, his mastery of his scholarship. His successive chapters, "The Age of the Enlightenment," "Locke's Inner and Outer World," "Berkeley's Idealism,"

"Hume's Scepticism," "The Materialistic Movement in England and France," "Rousseau's Philosophy of Feeling," "The Philosophy of Leibnitz," "The Conflict of Typical Philosophical Influences in Germany," "The Critical Philosophy of Kant," "The Practical Influences of Enlightenment,"—these chapters contain a vast amount of detailed and well digested information; but it is the way in which all this is handled, in which doctrines are traced to their roots and exhibited in their fruits, in which the trend of the period is marked and its significance estimated, that holds our attention and challenges our admiration. The scholar is lost sight of in the expositor; and we find the secret of the expositor to be that he is first of all himself a philosopher; and we are not surprised to hear from one of the public libraries of New York that of all recent publications, barring fiction, "The Age of the Enlightenment" is the most popular.

Of course, there has been adverse criticism. Professor Hibben has been accused of "holding a brief for Kant." "The Nation," in its issue of May 19th, has said, that "he seems at times to forget that the aim of his series is expository rather than controversial;" that his study of all the other philosophers of the period is only to bring out the unique place and influence of the great thinker of Königsberg; that, in a word, he would show his philosophy to be absolute or final. If this be so, then the reviewer would join forces with the Nation most heartily. It does not seem to him, however, that such need be the significance of Professor Hibben's method of exposition. Whatever may or may not be the latter's position as to the finality of the Kantian Critiques, it is the fact that "that movement of thought" known as "the Enlightenment" culminates in Kant; for he conserves in his philosophy the elements of truth which it had evolved, and at the same time he overcomes its obvious defects and limitations. Each writer of that period, therefore, can be best understood only when studied as preparing for Kant, just as we must go back to him if we would understand the philosophy of to-day. He has not spoken "the last word"; but when that word shall have been spoken, the expounder of it will probably have to follow Professor Hibben's method. Such is Kant's place, not only in "the Enlightenment", but in modern philosophy, that the first condition of any just exposition must be insistence on his unique preëminence. Valuable features of Professor Hibben's book are the "Chronological Table of Philosophical Works in the Age of the Enlightenment" and the "References" to the best books on the subjects considered, the references in this case being at the end of each chapter. A copious and accurate "Index" concludes each of these two volumes. We congratulate Prof. Hibben on these, the first two issues of his series, and not least on that one of the two of which he is the author; and we congratulate yet more the reading public that so important a series of philosophical works as this should be brought out by so competent an editor.

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WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

APOLOGETICAL THEOLOGY.

CHRIST AND THE EASTERN SOUL: THE WITNESS OF THE ORIENTAL CONSCIOUSNESS TO JESUS CHRIST. By CHARLES CUTHBERT HALL, D.D., LL.D., Late President of the Union Theological Seminary, New York. The Barrows Lectures, 1906-1907. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1 Adelphi Terrace. 1909.

Dr. Hall's first series of Barrows Lectures, delivered as by the terms of the Haskell foundation before audiences of educated Hindus and Mohammedans in Calcutta and in several other large cities of India, was published, shortly after its delivery in the winter season of 1902-1903, under the title of "Christian Belief Interpreted by Experience."

The present volume is the fruit of the appointment to this lectureship of the same distinguished theologian on the next succeeding occasion, an appointment which had been rendered logically inevitable by the notable success with which, on his first occupation therewith, Dr. Hall had risen to its unique demands. The opportunity afforded to an appointee of this lectureship is one in which the late revered President of Union Theological Seminary had shown himself to be, by the peculiar personal qualities of mind and heart with which he was gifted, even more than by his large qualifications in regard of particular scholarship and theoretical powers, distinctly more effective than either of his two equally noted predecessors, the late President J. H. Barrows and Principal Fairbairn. The six lectures now published under the title of "Christ and the Eastern Soul" were delivered in a number of Indian centres, as well as (in whole or in part) in the Philippines and other parts of the Orient, in the winter of 1906-1907, scarcely more than a year, as it proved, before their author's lamented passing from this life.

In this, his second approach to representatives of the life and thought of the new East, Dr. Hall's concern is with what he desires to distinguish as "the Oriental Consciousness". Vindicating the reality of such a distinctively "Oriental" consciousness, his analysis of it notes as its *differentia* four "elements of sublimity"; namely, "The Contemplative Life," "The Presence of the Unseen," "Aspiration toward Ultimate Being," and "Reverence for the Sanctions of the Past." Upon this his central thought becomes "to exhibit", as he expresses it, "the significance for the world of the correspondence between the sublime elements of Oriental Consciousness and the profoundly mystical elements of the Christian religion." And Dr. Hall's missionary message—for the lectures indeed are primarily, in intention and in effect, a *missionary* message—then takes the form of a summons to "the East" on behalf of "the West" to become the Interpreter of Christ. The final lecture, following five on "Elements of Sublimity in the Oriental Consciousness," "The Mystical Element in the Christian Religion," "The

Witness of God in the Soul," "The Witness of the Soul to God," and "The Distinctive Moral Grandeur of the Christian Religion" (a noble chapter), is entitled "The Ministry of the Oriental Consciousness in a World-wide Kingdom of Christ." Regarding "the sublime elements in the Oriental Consciousness" as "the source of power that can counteract this enfeebled apprehension of the fact of Christ" (*i. e.*, the modern "Western" apprehension, deemed one-sidedly pragmatic, mystically jejune) "and give back to the world the fervour, depth and sacredness of apostolic thought and feeling," Dr. Hall hails these with language of eager welcome,—hails them as "the four gospels with which a Christian East may reëvangelize the West;" and again exclaims, with the glow of a high prophetic fervor, "I look for the East to produce the most spiritual type of Christianity that has yet appeared on earth."

Of this volume and its argument as a whole the present reviewer can only say that the reading of it has been to him one almost continuous delight, a delight even at points where the disposition has been strongly to question either the truth or the wisdom of the presentation, and a delight rising at times to enthusiastic admiration. For *certain* qualities no one can possibly withhold admiration: for the exquisite felicity of diction, for the profusion of poetical imagery, for the transparent clarity of expression, for the warm fervor of the passages of intellectual and moral appeal, for the frank and simple candor of the personal self revealing (as beautifully on pp. 146 sqq.); above all, for the utter devotion to the Divine Christ ("it is inadequate to consider the Christian religion in any light that excludes the Divinity of Christ," p. 98) and the ardent devotion to the ideal the speaker had set before himself and the sense of his high calling as mediator between that Christ his Lord and the thought of the East (which devotion, as is well known, not indirectly occasioned his death), and finally for the exquisitely Christian and apostolic manner of personal approach to the audiences which he had before him. Truly this much at least will be said even by those who differ with the substance of these lectures more radically than the present writer differs, that never has Jesus Christ been more winsomely presented to men; never has the whole Christian personality of the messenger more pervaded and informed his message, and thereby more enriched it too, than in this last earthly witness-bearing of this great servant of His who now has exchanged earthly witness for instant vision.

And now for some words of more particular remark. There has long seemed to the writer to exist a certain exceedingly common *confusion of thought* among many of those who speak in the general vein of these lectures of Dr. Hall, a confusion from which Dr. Hall is largely, yet at times not wholly, free. To speak of "contributions to be made by non-Christian faiths to Christianity" is to speak loosely. Such language is sometimes found to indicate a valid and exceedingly important truth, while at other times it is seen to betray a conception under which Christianity is degraded to a mere eclecticism. That the non-Christian religions—"faiths"—as such, have contributions to make

to the Christian religion, as such, we do not believe. That, on the other hand, the future Christian *faith* (singular number) of those nations which are at present non-Christian will in future make substantive additions to the experience-content of Christianity, and thus *discover* and *exhibit* hitherto unrealized treasures, also, in the objective Christian subject-matter, this we find wholly credible and eagerly to be awaited.

As over against the former mode of statement, let us now make our own fuller statement. That truth, great truth, is found in many of the ethnic scriptures we gladly recognize; what Christian taught by Christ and His apostles will not? When we even find Logos-doctrine in the Mahabharata, for example, we exclaim, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." We recognize, too, that even in those great systems of speculative thought and those luxuriant mythology-formations and those complicated structures of social and individual ritual and other practice, from which have flowed and in which are expressed the forces that have made for such terrific degradation of the moral consciousness and such total divorce of religion, as such, from the elements of moral purity and worth that do still survive in the life of the people, as has obtained in the India of the past two thousand years¹—that, even in those sources and expressions of this very degradation, are to be discerned apprehensions of great truths, nay, even witnesses to distinctively Christian truths. This, however, we may note, we would be just *as* ready to assert of the abysmal vileness and the arid wastes of the later Puranic mythology as of the more refined and tenuous metaphysical speculations of the Upanishads, upon which Dr. Hall specially draws, or of the nature-worship and henotheism of the Vedas. But that from any of these ethnic sources is to be derived any truth which is not already contained *in* Christianity, and there in fuller clarity, and in that balance of relation with other truth, the presence or absence of which often makes all the difference between its practical operation as truth and its practical operation as falsehood—that any truth to be culled from external sources is to be *added* to Christianity, to complete and correct it and so produce "the religion of the future", this we do not believe. We disbelieve it, not merely on grounds of a fairly adequate general knowledge of these religions themselves (although even the lack of such knowledge indeed, we maintain, would not totally disqualify for such a judgment), but because we are independently convinced, on what we believe to be adequate grounds, of the finality, absoluteness and universality of "the truth as it is in Jesus."

When, therefore, we hear Dr. Hall simply taking the Vedanta philosophy on the one hand and Christianity on the other hand, coördinating and coupling them, and telling his Hindu (and Mohammedan!) audiences and his Christian readers that the former—on all sides recognized, it may be supposed, as the most powerfully and rigorously

¹ The pure, undefiled Hinduism which Swami Vivekananda preached to the people of Chicago has no existence in India to-day; has had no existence for centuries . . . As a fact, *abomination-worship* is the main ingredient of modern Hinduism.—Quoted from an editorial in "The Indian Nation", an orthodox Hindu newspaper.

self-consistent pantheism that exists outside of Spinoza (and not yielding to Spinoza in this regard)—is “the” message to man’s intellectual consciousness (—“the conception of finite being as identical with Universal Being is Truth’s foundation-stone”—), while the latter, Christianity, is correspondingly “the” message to man’s moral consciousness, we confess an inability to see how we can regard that as promising a very satisfactorily homogeneous total theological construction, while we are more than sceptical of its homiletical and evangelistic expediency. We cannot avoid the conviction that the lecturer’s eagerness to win for his Christ an access as unimpeded as possible to the minds and hearts of his hearers was too largely responsible for his going so far as to quote the dictum of Professor Deussen, of the University of Kiel, that “The New Testament and the Upanishads, these two noblest products of the religious consciousness of mankind, are found when we sound their deeper meaning to be *nowhere* (italics the reviewer’s) in irreconcilable contradiction, but in a manner the most attractive serve to elucidate and complete one another.” And yet our inclination to ascribe the making of this remarkable quotation to the noble Christian motive suggested is unpleasantly crossed when we hear Dr. Hall say of these words—words of one who is perhaps the most convinced and militant disciple of Schopenhauer living to-day—that they “express far more clearly than mine what this entire course of lectures is designed to express.”

Dr. Hall is not indeed by any means lacking in a most minute and scholarly personal acquaintance with the literature and thought-system to which he refers. Nor is he indiscriminating. He recognizes to the full, and eloquently points out to his hearers, not only the impoverishment of personality that has resulted from the undue exaltation of introspection, with the consequent bereavement, suffered by personality, of that enrichment which personality can owe only to inter-relationship with other personalities; and not only the ethical color-blindness that has ensued upon the exclusive pre-occupation with the conception of the way to the Divine as a way of higher *knowledge*; but most especially also the fatal influences of the logic of negation, with their direct issues, in polytheism on the one hand, through the reaction of the demands of the religious nature against the progressive negations of the formulas of search for the Absolute, and on the other hand, in the formal and entire obliteration of all moral (confluently with all other) distinctions. And yet one cannot escape the conviction that had the lecturer’s personal residence and active experience in India not been (as necessarily it was) of so brief duration, confined to one or two short winter-seasons, and had he come into as close quarters and as intimate relations with the actual practical results of this pantheism, both in the avowed ethical convictions and in the practical conduct of the Indian people in every walk of life, as the average missionary daily throughout a life-time comes, he would for one thing not have been so confident in saying (as on p. 71) “I do not for a moment assume any such effacement of moral distinctions to have taken place

in any man to whom I now speak;" and for another thing, having realized the actual depth and extent to which this logically ultimate, wholly non-moral pantheism has intrenched and ingrained itself in the theoretical and practical life of India's people, as illustrated, for a single example, in the anything but exceptional Sakti-worship (v. Mitchell, "Hinduism Past and Present, p. 144; Beach, "India and Christian Opportunity," p. 130, or any authoritative writer on India, *passim*) the note of academic dissent would inevitably have been accompanied, and even overpowered, by a more passionate note of revulsion. And under the compelling practical logic of such experiences, had they been his, the disposition to suggest Vedantism as "an expression of the religious instinct supplementary but not contradictory to Christianity" would have given place to a presentation from which the average Hindu listener would be less liable to derive the impression that what he already possesses is at least *comparable* in value and in importance with what he lacks, and that in his Vedantism he has treasure wherewith fully to repay the Christian for his impartation to him of his treasure in Christ.

We do not for an instant attribute such a thought as this, thus fully explicated, to the great, and devoted, and unfalteringly Christian Dr. Hall himself. And yet the interests of truth and of the evangelization of India compel us to say that we have in India heard devoted and scholarly Christian missionaries, who had heard Dr. Hall deliver these same lectures there and were in a position to gauge aright the actual impression made by them on the educated native public which they reached, express the fear that the total impression borne away by the latter, as to the gist of this unfamiliar message to them from the West, was not altogether such as Dr. Hall would have longed to have it be.

And yet—and from now on we can write with more enjoyment—with the lecturer's main thought, and with his practical Christian appeal to modern Hindus and Mohammedans based thereon, when it is expressed as we, in Dr. Hall's own words, outlined it above in our third paragraph, we find ourselves only in enthusiastic agreement and sympathy.

That there *exists* such a distinctively "Oriental" consciousness as he discerns seems probable. And although it is open to question whether there be such a uniformity among the *national* consciousnesses of the many various nations which are commonly grouped under the word "oriental", as to justify the use of that rather comprehensive term in differentiating their common traits jointly from those of the ostensible "Western" type of consciousness—whether, for example, mysticism and the aspiration after ultimate being can be said to be characteristic of the materialistic and, we believe, pragmatically-minded Chinese—in any case the terms of Dr. Hall's analysis do seem valid of the *Indian* consciousness. And his contentions become just as important, if we think of them as referring to the stones with which the present and future *Indian* Christian consciousness may be expected to "build in the

temple of the Lord" (Zech. 6:15), as they would be if we did feel justified in denominating the particular type of consciousness which he has delineated, as broadly "Oriental".

To speak, then, now, of that in which we are whole-heartedly at one with Dr. Hall, there is, in the first place, undoubtedly, an important sense in which (though Dr. Hall does not use just these words) Christianity "needs" all nations as truly as all nations "need" Christianity. As Christianity, the permanent Christian subject-matter, is taken up in succession into different forms and types of racial and national, and, for that matter, of individual consciousness, the result will undoubtedly be, as it has been at all stages of this same process in the past, an enrichment of the collective Christian experience of the Church Universal and of the Church's reflection upon that experience; and, moreover, an enrichment which not merely will consist in an abstract addition to the total number of the already recognized types of Christian experience and products of Christian reflection, but will be shared in by the other forms of these, enriched and enlightened by derivation from the new discoveries. There will be, as the centuries roll on, and the *πᾶνθρωμα* of humanity is increasingly gathered in, and more and more of the "all things" come to be "summed up in Christ," as the life of humanity unfolds and the range of its knowledge and the manifoldness of its experiences broaden, ever new discoveries previously unmade, and ever new developments previously unentered, of the eternally "unsearchable" riches of *Christ*. There will ever be new vital and organic relations into which the truth as it is in Jesus will prove itself capable of coming, with whole realms and reaches of human life and interests and whole depths and ranges of human experience, of the very existence—let alone the nature—of which, no one yet has dreamed. Among these new forms of consciousness that shall thus enter into union with Christ, and, entering into union with Him, discover to themselves and discover to the rest of humanity new riches in Him, may well be the Indian consciousness, and the "Oriental" consciousness, if such a one exists, and certainly also the Chinese and Japanese—and why not the Esquimaux and the Kaffir?—consciousness. The endlessly varying racial qualities, dispositions, aspirations, needs and endowments of all humanity—these will be "the desirable things of all nations" that "shall come" (Haggai 2:7 R. V.) and with which, *when they are laid at the foot of the World-Saviour's Cross*, as the gold, frank-incense and myrrh which Eastern wise men of old laid at the foot of His manger-cradle, "I will fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts. The silver is *mine*, and the gold is *mine*, saith the Lord of Hosts." And so, but so only, it shall be that "the *latter* glory of this house shall be *greater* than the *former*" (Haggai 2:7, 8, 9).

The point to be emphasized, however, is—for just here does the prevalent confusion emerge—that all this "latter glory" of the House of God will consist in the new discoveries made by a *Christian* humanity, of glory that *has always been latent in Christianity*, although never

before—not even to-day—apprehended by any Christians. “The silver and the gold” which the nations and races will bring will be their racial and national endowments, not by any means additions to or corrections of Christianity by elements of new truth peculiar to the *non-Christian religions* of *e. g.*, India or the East. It may indeed well be that some of these future Indian “glories” will betray the fact that the consciousness in which they will have emerged is the same consciousness in which in its “time of ignorance” the Vedanta system, for example, emerged; and that certain of their features may then be seen to have collateral affinities with certain aspects of truth that had been witnessed to in the other. It would be surprising if this were not so. But that is a very different thing from supposing that Christianity can gain by importations of Vedantic elements. And still more different is it from the supposition that a fusion can be made, *in abstracto*, of Vedantism with Christianity—the *tour de force* which on that one remarkable page Dr. Hall seems to contemplate as possible and desirable and to commend to modern educated Hinduism.

No! the organism of Christian truth and the processes of its absorption into and clarification in Christian experience are ever vital, ever spiritually organic. The “Oriental Consciousness” that produced the Vedanta will never be able, either by means of its Vedanta or by means of any of its own endowments, however great, and however full of a promise of supplying the lacks in the “Western Consciousness,” to “build in the temple of the Lord” until it shall have surrendered *at once itself and its all* at the base of Calvary, and—to use Dr. Speer’s pregnant words—shall have “learned by life in Him” who died there and rose again.

On the other hand, this also needs to be emphasized, and this value of the central contention of these Barrows Lectures stressed, that it lies wholly in line with, and powerfully reinforces some of the soundest conceptions and the most approved practice of modern missions, as indicated, for example, and enounced so emphatically, in the findings of the Commissions, and the discussions thereon, of the great World Missionary Conference of Edinburgh, which recently concluded its sessions, and the monumental reports of which will be forthcoming from the press this fall. Reference is, for one thing, to the principle long since accepted by all wise and apostolic missionary workers, that for a fruitful avenue of approach to the mind and heart of the non-Christian, the need is not, indeed, alone of the manifested tender sympathy and yearning love of Christ, but also of seeking, in the manner of Christ (so far as here the parallel may hold) to ascertain what *practical points of contact* there already are, what common ground there already is, between the one dealt with and the truth that is to save him; and, having done so, to build upon these, ever in departure from them and ever in relation to them preaching Christ.

Then, too, it is deeply philosophic and, again, apostolic, to seek to preach Christ to the peoples of the earth as, specifically, the Fulfiller of what is *distinctive of their own best national religious past*. The

very fact that this can be done, that it belongs to the very greatness and exhibits the universality of the Christian religion, that it *is* the Fulfilment of all the abortive good of the past of each nation and of every race individually, will inevitably imply the discovery on our part, in the process of so doing, as well as on their part when they embrace Christ, of totally new aspects of Christ and His Truth, which never would have emerged except in relation to those *distinctively national* aspirations and needs. And this again illustrates and confirms the main argument of Dr. Hall's lectures.

The whole argument involves, too, for another thing, a valid and an exceedingly important and most timely caution *against the conception or practical conduct of missions as a process of occidentalization*. It is against just this attitude, in so far as it has, quite unconsciously and to a certain extent inevitably, been assumed by the Western Churches, that the protest and reaction against Christianity of Japanese, and now also of Chinese and Indian, nationalism is abundantly explicable and relatively justified. When on the one hand Dr. Hall truly observes: "Next to the ethical misrepresentation of the Christian religion by the perverse and contradictory lives of its nominal adherents, I know of nothing more likely to repel Orientals from the sympathetic study of this Eastern faith than the overshadowing prominence of *ecclesiastical institutions*" (p. 52); and when on the other hand a man at once so evangelical, so scholarly, and so *churchly* too, as Bishop Gore, speaks most vehemently at Edinburgh in June 1910, of the utter unsuitability of "documents such as the Thirty-nine Articles (!) or the Westminster Confession" to be in any sense employed as vehicles and instruments of religious instruction in India, Japan or any other part of the Orient, and, although electrifying the Conference by the realization that the utterance they had heard had come from *him*, yet finds that great and truly representative Conference in entire agreement with the position he is taking, we must certainly call upon ourselves to realize that this caution against identifying Christianity with any Occidental credal constructions or ecclesiastical forms whatever, and against allowing these to obtain more than the very minimum of prominence, is a weighty one.

Before finally dismissing the question, too, of Dr. Hall's attitude toward the Vedantic monism, and while we are still speaking of that in which we find ourselves in agreement with Dr. Hall, let this also be recognized and strongly stated, that undoubtedly harm has at times been done—or, let us rather say, the presentation of the Gospel Message to the educated and philosophically trained Hindu mind (though this is represented by only an infinitesimally small proportion of the total population—a fact often ignored in the west) has been at times weakened—by coupling it and at times almost *making it seem to stand or fall with certain crude forms of philosophical realism*. So, too, a similar illustration of the fact that at all times we who offer "this treasure" are ourselves "earthen vessels" lies in the fact that not all evangelists and Christian teachers have always taken

sufficient pains to guard our inevitable anthropomorphisms against misapprehension; or to purge their language and thought of those many intrusions of deistic elements which have survived in much nineteenth century theology as precipitations from the controversies of the eighteenth century.

When all is said, however, and without desiring to discount anything that has already been recognized as of value, or to minimize our really keen appreciation and high estimation alike of Dr. Charles Cuthbert Hall's admirable scholarship, beautiful Christian spirit and very notable actual achievement in these lectures, this also must be witnessed to, that we are inclined to agree with those who, intimately acquainted with India, India's past and India's present, have asserted that, from the point of view of the most speedy and thorough evangelization of India, it is easy for Christians in the west to exaggerate in their minds the actual influence which may be expected to be exerted by *any* such Lectureships as the Barrows Lectureship, of which the distinctive characteristic is that it is filled by visitors to India from the west, who must necessarily, in the majority of cases, have a recent and only most limited knowledge of the actual conditions of India religiously, and whose scholarly knowledge of those religions, however great, must in the nature of the case be at best only academic. The deepest and most fruitful and most permanent religious impress of Christianity on India will be in far less measure by *any* such sporadic academic lectures from abroad, even to thronged audiences in great strategical student-centers, than by the intimate, continuous contact through the hours and days and years of a life-time, of the regular missionaries, whose life-study and life-work these themes and these tasks are—a contact maintained through all the manifold agencies and instrumentalities and varied individual gifts for service, through which the Holy Spirit can bring the Oriental Consciousness into vital contact with and confrontation of the claims upon human allegiance and trust of the self-evidencing Christ of God.

With two comprehensive and most apposite quotations this review may now be brought to a close. These quotations are not made as though directed toward a lack or weakness that is specially conspicuous in the work that has been under review. But they are not without their weighty bearing upon many contemporary treatments of this whole great subject, which approach it along the same avenue by which Dr. Hall approached it, their authors and they yet lacking the qualities which did make Dr. Hall a great positive Christian apologete, and his lectures, with the posthumous volume which now makes them the property of the world, in spite of all criticisms a most valuable Christian apologetic.

The first quotation is from a notable address that the writer was privileged to hear from the platform of the Edinburgh World's Missionary Conference by Professor McEwen, of New College, Edinburgh: "If there is one thing clear to the student of the early (Christian) centuries, it is that Christianity kept its hold on the world by the *unswerving assertion of positive and exclusive truths.*" And the second

quotation is from one of the many masterly discussions on the field of Comparative Religion that have come from the lips and pen of Mr., now Dr. Robert E. Speer: "It is utterly inadequate to describe the invitation of Foreign Missions to the non-Christian peoples as an invitation to philosophical adjustment. *It is an appeal for regeneration.*"

If certitudes such as these control the faithful witness of the Western Soul, the Eastern Soul will find its Christ.

Carlisle, Pa.

EDWIN HENRY KELLOGG.

BELIEF IN A PERSONAL GOD. By A. v. C. P. HUIZINGA. 8vo, pp. 52. Boston: Sherman, French & Company. 1910.

This attractive booklet is not so much a constructive proof of the existence of a personal God as it is an illustration of the necessity of one from the failure of all attempts to do without him and an earnest plea for more emphasis on the divine personality, especially in preaching. The author's style is interesting, and his essay is very rich in apt quotations from the best literature of the subject, both contemporary and of the past.

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

GREAT ISSUES. By ROBERT F. HORTON, Author of "Inspiration and the Bible," "Revelation and the Bible" and "Verbum Dei." New York: The MacMillan Co. 1909. \$1.50 net.

Here is another book dealing with the living questions of to-day. Starting with a chapter on Myths, where we find the author's doctrine of the Scriptures, we consider religion, morality, politics, socialism, philosophy, science, theology, literature, art, life and death. Throughout the viewpoint is primarily and fundamentally religious and in this lies the great excellence of the book. The reader is compelled to consider all these things as they bear upon the life of a child of God. The necessary connection of true religion with morality is admirably portrayed, and politics and socialism are studied in their religious aspect. The chapter on science is perhaps the best in the book. Its multitude of proof of the essential modesty of the true scientist is worthy of especial praise. To understand, however, the spirit and method of Dr. Horton, it will be best to examine carefully his teaching on "Theology," as this is typical of all.

Theology must be distinguished from the sciences since its subject-matter is of a different character. The author states that "Science is the formulated knowledge of the contingent: theology is the quest of the absolute, which science despairs of knowing. Science is not concerned with causes or purposes but simply seeks to trace uniformities and successions in phenomena. Theology is concerned chiefly with the cause and purpose . . ." And, therefore, the conclusion is reached that the domains of science and theology are different and that theology is not strictly a science but a discipline. Dr. Horton, however, maintains that what is unknown to science and undiscoverable by it may be

the known cause which can be explored by the human mind. The quest for a theology is not scientific, but science can be used to grant her method and critique of reason to the theologian, to keep him from "losing himself."

"If theology claims an absoluteness and finality, she discredits herself," since there has been progress in the past and there must be in the future. There is progress in every other branch of human knowledge. That which is not growing is dead. "For is not a stagnant theology a denial of the living God, and of that law, which must be His—the law of development, the key and interpretation of the world and of life, and does not the Bible show such a development?" we are asked. "There is no authority for maintaining that in the New Testament theology came to a stop, that there all that could ever be known of God is finally put down." "The search for a new theology is imperative." "Unless theology is new it is not true; the theology of yesterday is not true of to-day."

Since theology cannot be drawn from an infallible church or an infallible Bible, the searcher must start with the two great known facts—the Universe and the human mind. From these as a basis Dr. Horton builds his new theology, passing from the pantheistic recognition of a god in nature by way of our personality to belief in a personal God, and in one possessing at least the attributes of our personality. (So much for Theism.) The author would then discuss the possibility of this God revealing Himself, the probability of such revelation and the credibility of the claims of the Bible to be a revelation. This being proved we learn that the great contribution of the Scriptures is the doctrine that God is our *loving* Father—is *love* only. We back up this revelation by discovering love as the great ruling force everywhere in creation. And thus we get our "new theology."

Two great facts should be borne in mind in considering this chapter. Dr. Horton is an avowed believer in the pragmatic philosophy. As applied to his theology it might be fairly stated thus: "That is true of which we can comprehend the need, which appeals to our sense of the fitness of things, which we can see works." Does not such a philosophy, while perhaps ably fitting a man to be a Christian worker, really totally unfit him to be a theologian? Theology is the Study of God in the fullness of His character. Is it to be supposed that finite, sinful, ignorant man can comprehend Him or His works in such a complete manner that he can deny attributes revealed but not pleasant to his self-esteem or apparently applicable to his present situation? The purpose of theology and of all other true science is the discovery of truth, and this in definite distinction from that of the inventor of "practical" appliances, be he settlement-worker or mechanic.

A second point to be noted is that Dr. Horton in his desire to be liberal and in sympathy with those without the Church is unfortunately led into some extravagance in criticizing existing religious institutions and formulas.

In regard to the general system of theology here outlined, we can

commend the attempt to begin at the very foundation, and by the aid of Theism and Apologetics build up the whole system; but, when we have attained to the important point where the Bible is vindicated as a revelation from God, why should we then pick out only a fraction of the truth revealed especially when other constituents of the revelation can so easily be shown to be practically of great moral value?

Dr. Horton argues for a "new theology" and uses as an illustration of the evolution of truth the development of astronomy from astrology. So should it be with theology he claims. But in astronomy the *stars* have remained the same during all the course of human history. It is merely man's interpretation of them that has varied. Dr. Horton is in danger of making the all too common confusion between two very different things. On the one hand we have the revelation of God in nature, in man and chiefly in His word. This is like the stars, immutable and unchanging and sufficient. On the other hand we have man's interpretation of these great facts. Man's nature is infected with evil and his reason shares this infection. Because certain conclusions seem to follow necessarily from certain Biblical statements, when viewed by certain mortal, sinful men, however brilliant they may be, this does not prove that these interpretations of truth are surely binding on all future generations. Man's mind is limited. His logic is limited and often woefully inadequate, especially when dealing with things "too wonderful for him" about the entirety of which he, per force, knows little. We have no inspired logic, no infallible interpretation, no inerrant reason binding upon all men.

But nevertheless we cannot fail to remember that as in science so in theology it may be granted to certain men, far above their fellows in ability and clarity of thought, to discover great truths forever binding, to make great deductions which no future generation can deny or improve.

Dr. Horton's book is well written, interesting and stimulating but the standpoint is only that of the practical Christian worker even when dealing with subjects where the impersonal, dispassionate scholarly spirit is indispensable.

Cranford, N. J., June, 1910.

GORDAN M. RUSSELL.

EXEGETICAL THEOLOGY.

THE HOLY SPIRIT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT: A STUDY OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIAN TEACHING. By HENRY BARCLAY SWETE, D.D., Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, Hon. Canon of Ely. The Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York. 8vo. Pp. viii. 417. \$2.60 net.

A work by Dr. Swete on so important and central a subject as the New Testament doctrine of the Holy Spirit naturally raises great expectations. By unique exegetical qualifications as well as by a theological position broadly in sympathy with the historic faith of the

Church, the author would seem most eminently fitted for giving us the ideal pneumatology, which, after all that has of late been written on the subject in a fragmentary way or from a less believing standpoint, still remains a desideratum. That such high expectations are scarcely realized in the work before us is due not so much to a failure of accomplishment on the author's part, but rather to the self-imposed limitations with which he has set out upon his task. Dr. Swete is so keenly conscious of these limitations that he uses the very first sentence of his preface to tell us that "this book is not an attempt to demonstrate the truth of the catholic doctrine of the Holy Spirit by an appeal to the New Testament," "nor professes to make a formal contribution to the study of New Testament Theology." And positively his avowed purpose is "to assist the reader in the effort to realize the position of the first Christian teachers and writers, when they speak of the Holy Spirit in connection with the history of their times or out of their own experiences of the spiritual life." It does not seem quite clear how the purpose thus defined could be adequately attained without making what the author does not mean to make, a formal contribution to New Testament theology. To realize the position of the first Christian teachers and writers in regard to the Holy Spirit as a factor in history and experience is scarcely possible without a careful biblico-theological investigation of the place held by the conception of the Holy Spirit in the belief of the apostolic period. And such an investigation certainly the book does not offer. To be sure it is constructed on a plan that could scarcely have been improved upon, had a thorough, painstaking study of this kind been contemplated. In a first part the manifestation of the Holy Spirit in the history of the New Testament is traced, and this is followed in a second part by a review of the Spirit's manifestation in the New Testament teaching, an arrangement which well brings out and upholds the principle that the doctrine is subsequent to and the interpretation of the facts. To these two parts there is added a third division, which gives a summary of the New Testament doctrine under the seven heads of the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Jesus Christ, the Spirit in the Church, the Spirit and the Ministry, the Spirit and the Written Word, the Spirit and the Personal Life, the Spirit and the Life to Come. In the first two divisions the method of procedure is strictly exegetical, even painstakingly so, the full original text of the passages under discussion being each time printed at the head of the several paragraphs in a carefully revised form. The performance, however, does not come up to the preparations, the comment on the texts being on the whole cursory and going very seldom beneath the surface of the common traditional understanding of the matter. The result is an exposition which the intelligent believer may follow almost from first to last with uninterrupted assent, but from which he will learn comparatively little that is new. The freshness and originality arising from the specifically biblico-theological mode of approach are too little in evidence. We miss the finely modulated insight into the

differences that exist between the various New Testament writers in their apprehension of the Spirit, and which gave a peculiar perspective in each case even to the area they have in common. That Peter and Paul, while both deriving the mission of the Spirit from the ascended Christ, yet view the relation existing between the Spirit and the Christ in glory each from his own standpoint, Peter regarding it after the nature of an objective, external gift bestowed by the Lord, Paul regarding it as a self-communication in which the Lord bestows what had become part subjectively of his own glorified humanity, this and similar other things Dr. Swete does not tell us. Although a paragraph is devoted to the Spirit and the life to come, the broad eschatological significance which the Spirit has in Paul as the element of the heavenly sphere and the future aeon is nowhere clearly brought out. In general we feel that the author looks at the subject with the eyes of the exegete and of the dogmatician, but that the peculiar intermediate kind of vision which constitutes the chief equipment of the biblical theologian is not his forte. He puts himself into rapport with the New Testament consciousness through the medium of the general faith of the Church, and by doing this loses sight of what is the individual, incommunicable physiognomy of the period and of the several writers, that in their apprehension of the Spirit which no later age could ever fully share or repeat. We do not overlook, of course, that this defect carries with itself the advantage of giving the reader a vivid impression of the thorough agreement of the Church's doctrine of the Spirit with the main lines drawn in the apostolic development of truth. While Dr. Swete disavows every intention of demonstrating the truth of the catholic doctrine of the Holy Spirit by an appeal to the New Testament, yet, as a matter of fact, a more convincing argument to that very same effect than is contained in his discussion could scarcely be constructed.

It goes without saying that even in the cursory comment of so able and careful an exegete, as the author has proved himself to be, there must of needs be much that deserves the attention and will repay the perusal of students of the New Testament. Especially in the notes that are collected in the appendix there is valuable material. We may specify note P on "Spirit" and "the Spirit" which throws much light, more, indeed, than we have been able to find elsewhere, on the peculiar anarthrous use of *πνεῦμα* and *ἅγιον πνεῦμα* in the New Testament. Such a taste of what the author is able to give makes us all the more keenly regret that he has not seen fit to expand the present fragmentary presentation into an exhaustive study of his subject such as would have instructed, not merely the average reader, but would have also put under obligation the professional student of New Testament Theology.

Princeton.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

THE ETHICS OF JESUS. BY HENRY CHURCHILL KING, D.D., LL.D., President of Oberlin College. New York. The MacMillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue. 1910. Pp. xii, 293. Price, \$1.50 net.

The literature of Christian Ethics has recently been enriched by the appearance, within a few months of each other, of two monographs upon the ethical teaching of the Synoptic Gospels. Dr. Stalker's volume (*The Ethic of Jesus*, noticed in the last number of this REVIEW, pp. 491-494) is more orderly in arrangement, more comprehensive, and doubtless will be more permanently serviceable; but Dr. King's handbook, while less pretentious and of less even merit, is well worth reading, if for nothing else for its brilliant exposition of the Beatitudes and the Sermon on the Mount. Both authors know the human heart, but Dr. Stalker perhaps writes with surer touch of repentance, and of the experience of prodigal, publican and woman that was a sinner; while Dr. King, placing less emphasis upon the moral disorder of human nature, paints with clearness and attractiveness the beauty of the Christian ideal.

Dr. King attempts what he calls a "composite photograph" of the ethics of Jesus by considering in successive chapters the ethical teaching contained (1) in the nine, or rather twelve, sayings selected by Schmiedel as the "foundation pillars" of our knowledge of Christ, (2) in the so-called "doubly-attested sayings" as arranged by Burkitt, (3) in the document Q as reconstructed by Harnack, (4) in Mark, (5) in the special matter of Matthew and Luke, and (6) in the Beatitudes and the Sermon on the Mount. By this method of treatment Dr. King seeks to build upon the "assured results of criticism," and has given to the discussion a certain air of novelty, but the method has its drawbacks. In the earlier chapters the passages to be commented upon have no logical connection, and the attention of the reader is often drawn away from the ethical to the critical questions involved. Dr. King may be said, however, to have made a contribution to the critical question by showing, as he believes that he does, that the same "ethical notes and emphases" are to be found in all the different groups of passages. "The different presentations are thoroughly harmonious."

The Sermon on the Mount is reserved for treatment as a whole, even where passages in it occur in Q or the doubly attested sayings, and here, where he is unhampered by critical considerations, Dr. King's power as an ethical expositor is seen at its best. (Two verses, Mt. v. 18, 19, are regarded, with Allen and Votaw, as doubtful, but they are referred to three or four times in the discussion as illustrating the fundamental principles of Jesus' teaching.) The chapter on the Beatitudes, in our judgment, is the best in the book. Dr. King shows that he has pondered deeply upon the words of the Great Teacher, and he has brought to their exposition genuine ethical insight and enthusiasm.

We are not sure that he has hit the mark exactly when he groups the sayings beginning, "But I say unto you," under the heading, "The necessity of mental and spiritual independence—the authority of self-evident truth" (p. 200). The command, for example, to love our enemies scarcely expresses a self-evident truth of morals, or if it

does so, it is strangely neglected by the ethical text-books. The tone of authority in the Sermon, we believe it must be admitted, is not simply that of a teacher who places the authority of conscience over against that of tradition, but rather that of a lawgiver who identifies his own commands so absolutely with the will of God that he can make the hearing and doing of his own words the test of human destiny.

The originality of Jesus as an ethical teacher, says Dr. King, is to be found "in the wonderful unity of life and teaching and influence; in his deep insight into the very heart of all life, into the secret of all living. One finds in him no elaborate deductions, no painstakingly preserved system, but rather an insight so complete as to allow even scattered maxims to be brought into a perfect unity, without contradictions and without inconsistencies. . . . But the great and unique contribution which, above all else, Jesus makes to ethics, and religion is *himself*. No personality can for an instant be placed beside his as worthy of comparison with him; and therein lies the great, peculiar, unique contribution of Jesus to the moral and religious life."

The volume closes with a bibliography and indices.

Lincoln University, Pa.

WM. HALLOCK JOHNSON.

HISTORICAL THEOLOGY.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND, Causes, Characteristics, Consequences.

The Stone Lectures at Princeton Theological Seminary for 1907-1908. By DAVID HAY FLEMING, LL.D. London: Hodder and Stroughton. 1910. 8vo pp. xvi, 666.

Dr. Hay Fleming's Stone Lectures make a substantial contribution to the understanding and right estimation of the Scottish Reformation. He has wisely elected not to retell the history of this great movement in a continuous narrative. He uses the space at his disposal rather for the discussion of a number of questions hitherto either ignored or superficially dealt with. This has enabled him to bring his thorough knowledge of the period to bear at precisely the points where elucidation was needed, and to make his book an indispensable companion-piece, or corrective, of all current histories of the Scottish Reformation. The wealth of new information, and of old information freshly marshalled, which he has been able to bring together to illustrate the aspects of the Scottish Reformation he has chosen for discussion is nothing less than marvellous, and, in the mass, greatly advances our knowledge of what really was accomplished in that great revolution. The book naturally takes its place as one of a series of studies of the Reformation period with which the author has been occupied for a number of years. This series was begun by his *Mary Queen of Scots*, the first part of which was published more than a dozen years ago, and the second part of which we are yet eagerly awaiting. It is to be, we shall not say completed, but continued, by the *Life of Knox* which has been in preparation since the premature commemoration of the four hundredth anniver-

sary of Knox's birth a few years ago, and will be given us we trust, in time to guide our celebration of it at its true date still a few years hence. Meanwhile the present volume intervenes and gives us an account of "the causes, characteristics, consequences" of the great movement in which Mary and Knox were, in widely different senses, conspicuous figures, as these may be ascertained from and illustrated by the contemporary records which have survived to our time. For this is the characteristic of Dr. Fleming's historical work, and this is its value: that it is all freshly studied from the primary sources, and thus brings us "back to book", and bids us look at things as they were, and not as they have gradually come to be thought to have been as the years have run on, points of view have changed, and traditions in this or that interest have grown up.

What the volume before us undertakes to discuss is, as we have just noted from the title-page, "the causes, characteristics, consequences" of the Scottish Reformation. These rubrics provide the main divisions of the volume. There is at the outset a chapter entitled "The Beginnings", in which an account is given of the factors making for reformation which were present in Scotland before the coming of the Reformation. Then the causes of the Reformation in Scotland are discussed in six chapters; four of these are given to what are here called secondary causes, though they might perhaps be as well called negative or occasional causes, and two to the primary, or perhaps we may say, positive, or effecting causes. Two chapters follow, on the leading and minor characteristics of the Scottish Reformation; and then five more on certain of its consequences. The whole is closed by seventeen of those valuable Appendices, drawn from unpublished sources, which Dr. Fleming has accustomed us to expect in his books and by which he is wont to settle disputed historical facts.

What Dr. Fleming calls the "secondary causes" of the Reformation in Scotland may be summed up broadly under the one rubric of the corruption of the old Church. This corruption he treats distributively under the several heads of "Clerical depravity", "Clerical ignorance and irreverence", the "evils associated with the conferring of benefices", "clerical credulity, imposture, and rapacity." That such evils existed in the old Church as it tottered to its fall, has been known of course to everyone: they were too much in evidence to be missed. But they have been much too often more or less ignored, much too often glozed; until a feeling has been fostered that there was very little occasion for a "reformation" properly so called, and that not much real change was wrought by the Reformation. To correct this gross misapprehension, Dr. Fleming is at pains to show, from the indisputable evidence of public records, the incredible depravity of the clergy of the day, corrupting by their example the entire community and rotting down itself into an intolerable degradation. The pages in which he exhibits the grossness of the superstition in which many of the clergy lived and in fostering which in the community they found their profit, have the same effect, as instance is piled on instance, as the famous

pages of Calvin's *Treatise on Relics*, which as M. Lenient has said, gives an air of sardonic humor to a mere mathematical enumeration. The pages in which he recounts the wide-spread and deep impurity of the ecclesiastical body fairly reek with horror. Dr. Fleming has taken the trouble to extract from the Registers of the Great and Privy Seals a list of the children of the clergy of Scotland legally legitimated during the period extending between 1529 and 1559—a matter of thirty years. These lists yield 345 sons and 46 daughters, which of course, constitute but a moiety of the whole number. The gibe attributed to Erasmus, himself the son of a cleric, would certainly apply to the clerics of pre-Reformation Scotland, when he declared of priests that *patres vocantur quia sunt*. One would willingly believe that most of the irregular connections formed by ecclesiastics in that age were in effect marriages, only marriages under the ban of the Church. But we fear the facts brought out by Dr. Fleming will not permit us so to think of them. They appear to be rather the result of a deep-seated immorality which affected apparently all ranks particularly of the secular clergy. "The clergy in these lists", says Dr. Fleming, "range through a score of grades, from the cardinal to the curate. No fewer than ten are bishops, and of abbots there are nearly as many. The rectors are numerous, the vicars more so, and the chaplains outstrip them all. It may be noted", he adds, however, "that only three are entered as canons, only one as a monk, and not one as a friar." And then he calls our attention in a note to the remark of the Regent Morton in 1573 "that most of the canons, monks and friars 'within the realme' had made profession of the true religion"—as if we were to infer that the two facts noted might go together. The Church had evidently fallen into a profound decay which exhibited itself in every sphere of both ecclesiastical and personal life. In a couple of chapters remarkable for their utilization of a great mass of new material, Dr. Fleming shows the amazing extent to which the Church fabrics all over Scotland were falling into ruins. He significantly remarks that the pre-Reformation clergy were "in a more deplorable condition than even their buildings."

This exhibition of the dreadful situation into which the Church had sunk, dragging down with it the religious and moral life of the people, was necessary in order to make clear the crying need there was in Scotland of a Reformation, and the nature of the negative preparation which had been making there for it. The next two chapters are occupied with an account of the instrumentalities used by God in bringing this reformation about—all of which may be summed up in the one word, the Gospel of God's grace, presented now in books and ballads, and even plays, now in preaching, now in the printed Word of God itself, now in lives of heroic testimony and cruel deaths sealing this testimony in blood. The careful sifting to which the facts here brought together have been subjected is very welcome. There is one minute point in which perhaps a slight error has been fallen into, which may possibly be worth mentioning. On p. 229 there is cited Lord Lisle's advice to the Regent Arran "to let slip among his people 'the Bible and New Testament in

Englishe'." Dr. Hay Fleming annotates: "When Lisle spoke of the Bible and New Testament, by the Bible he meant the Old Testament. His designation was not uncommon at that period, and is still used in Scotland." The general fact of usage here appealed to is, of course, undoubted; but there is a difficulty in supposing Lisle's remark to present an instance of it. Was the English Bible in circulation in 1543 in the form of the Old Testament and New Testament, issued separately? Certain parts of the Old Testament had, no doubt, been already issued separately, but not, we think the whole Old Testament; and in any event it was precisely in the form of entire Bibles and of separate New Testaments that the Scriptures were most accessible in English at that date—as, indeed, they remain, in a certain sense, up to to-day. It seems to us most natural, therefore, to suppose that Lisle's language, and also Sadler's, quoted on the following page, reflects the contemporary condition of affairs and that the reference is to entire Bibles and separate New Testaments.

From the causes of the Scottish Reformation Dr. Fleming passes to an account of its Characteristics. He lays great stress particularly on its thoroughness, and illustrates this by a rapid sketch of the Church order and modes of worship which were substituted by it for those formerly in vogue. Especial emphasis is thrown also on the subjection of all things to the pure teaching of Scripture, and on the strictness of the discipline introduced, and its effects in a manifest amendment of life. Passing thence to the Consequences of the Reformation, Dr. Fleming first of all devotes two chapters to a defense of the Scottish Reformation against the charge of wanton destructiveness in dealing with the art treasures of the land. We have already spoken incidentally of the historical value of the inquiry included in these chapters into the decay and destruction of the old Scottish Churches. While successfully defending the Reformers against the general charge of destructiveness Dr. Fleming permits no mawkish sentimentality to blind him to the proportion of things; art and architecture may be very fine things, he remarks in effect, but souls are even more valuable, and idolatry is no venial fault. He also remarks with very great point that "even at the worst the burning of images and the smashing of altars were very innocent amusements compared with the burning of heretics." In a subsequent chapter he adds weight to this remark by pointing out that the "decline of persecution" was one of the main consequences of the Reformation. The Protestants carried over from the Middle Ages, no doubt, the theory that it belonged to the civil magistrate to suppress heresy with the sword, and the early Reformation documents continue to announce this doctrine with vigor. But the Reformation nevertheless brought the cessation of persecution for conscience sake. Twenty-one Protestants were "judicially put to death for their religion during the thirty-one years preceeding 1559", but "even in the very crisis of the Reformation when feeling ran so high, and in the period which immediately succeeded it, not one was executed" by the Protestants for religion's sake; and "during the first half century after the old

Church was overthrown, it does not appear that more than two, possibly only one, suffered death judicially for religion". The improvement in morals was equally immense; though of course time was required for its full realization also. One of the chapters on "Consequences" is devoted to one aspect of this realization, that embodied in the reform of the marriage law. Under the Papal rule the freedom of divorce founded on "diriment impediments" to marriage, produced a state of things which can be described as nothing less than disgraceful immorality. Scarcely a marriage could be consummated for the dissolution of which a "diriment impediment" could not be trumped up; and those who had money to spend on such things could secure release from the marriage bond almost at will. Those who had no money naturally learned from the example of the rich to look upon the marriage bond with a contempt which found other modes of expression. All this was at once remedied by the Reformation; and it is not too much to say that if nothing else had been brought by the Reformation society would owe it a debt of gratitude for this, which would be inestimable.

In the final chapter there are pointed out the educational and kindred advantages which have come to the Scottish people from their Reformation. Naturally the Reformers were zealous for a competently instructed ministry. But their zeal went far beyond that. The great scheme which was outlined in the *First Book of Discipline* contemplated making education compulsory, and required "that everie severall Church have a schoolmaster", every considerable town a grammar school, and every "notable town" a college. This magnificent scheme could not then be realized; but as Dr. Fleming remarks it stood ever before Scotsmen's eyes as "a stimulating ideal". And when now at length after so many years it has come to measurable realization it must be looked at as a tardy but real consequence of the Reformation. Meanwhile the Reformers were determined that at least the Church should have an educated ministry, and they therefore set their faces steadfastly against inducting unfit men into the sacred office, even though the land was crying out for their services. They preferred that the Church should remain only partially ordered and manned, rather than that incompetent persons should be admitted to the ministry,—judging that it was just as well, perhaps better, for a church to have no minister than to have an incompetent or unprofitable one. The first General Assembly, consisted of forty-two members, of which only six were entered as ministers; and as the number of ministers increased only slowly as competent men came forward, the expedients of "superintendents" and "readers" meanwhile were adopted for supplying their lack. In the midst of this dearth (in 1547-1545) the General Assembly insisted on skill in the Latin language as a qualification for admission to the ministry.

There may be some danger that a careless reader may imagine that Dr. Fleming, in examining with his wonted minuteness a number of secondary causes and features of the Scottish Reformation, has perhaps permitted the matter of chief concern to slip from his notice. Such

an impression would be thoroughly unjust. Dr. Fleming knows perfectly well and never loses sight of the main matter. We adjoin a single passage that his point of view may be clear to all: "In those days it was sometimes absolutely necessary that ministers should preach to the times, . . . Preaching to the times was not, however, the main purpose of the pulpit, nor was the high-toned morality which was insisted on. The supreme place was given to the faithful preaching of the Gospel of Christ. . . . The preachers had a definite message, and those who had come through the struggle of the Reformation could not help being in earnest. Knowing from bitter experience what the papacy really was they were anxious to snatch men as brands from the burning. They realized that the Gospel of Christ is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth—that by it, and by it alone, the heart of a sinner can be purified, his affections cleansed, his flesh subdued, and his mind set on good works." It is in this spirit that Dr. Fleming has written his book; and we may add, that, archaeologist though he is and with his mind set on accuracy and exactness, he has also written it for his own times. It is a notable characteristic of the book that its lessons are not merely left to the reader to be extracted, but are suggested and sometimes even applied. Dr. Fleming wishes us to remember that Rome, whose motto is *semper eadem*, is still with us; and that the Gospel remains the one remedy for the deeper ills of humanity and is a thing worth preserving and a thing which needs constant proclamation and defense that it may live and do its work in the world.

We shall not undertake to speak of the contents of the long series of valuable appendices which Dr. Fleming has added to his book. We have already intimated their value. We do not esteem it superfluous to mention, however, that the volume is provided with a full and useful index. It is admirably printed, and will appeal in form as well as contents to the fastidious taste.

Princeton.

BENJAMIN B. WARFIELD.

SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY.

REVELATION AND INSPIRATION. By Dr. REINHOLD SEEBERG, Professor at the University of Berlin. London and New York: Harper and Brothers. 1909. Foolsap 8vo. Pp. x., 135.

Professor Reinhold Seeberg is one of the leaders of that school of recent German thought the object of whose research is a "Modern Positive Theology", or, as Professor Grützmacher, another of its leaders, prefers to phrase it, a "Modern-positive Theology". We are happily relieved from all necessity of explaining to the readers of this REVIEW the nature of this "Modern Positive Theology", by the admirable exposition of it which was given by Dr. C. W. Hodge in the April number. It will suffice now to remind ourselves that, as its very name advises us, it attempts to be at once "modern" and "posi-

tive". It wishes first of all to be "modern"; but in being "modern" it does not wish to break utterly with the historical faith of the Church,—it wishes so far to remain "positive". In one word, its purpose is—as Professor Grützmacher's mode of phrasing its chosen self-designation perhaps most clearly suggests—to "modernize" the historical faith of the Church. The particular elements of that faith which Professor Seeberg undertakes to "modernize" in the booklet now before us, are the doctrines of Revelation and Inspiration. In its German form this booklet constitutes the seventh and eighth "Hefte" of the fourth series of the well known *Biblische Zeit- und Streitfragen* which have been publishing for the last five or six years "zur Aufklärung der Gebildeten." Belonging to the fourth year of this publication, this booklet appeared in 1908, and is now (1909) offered afresh for the enlightenment of the English educated public. It would fain show them that "the opinion that the Bible is a religious book is compatible with strict historical criticism of its contents"; that it is possible "to avoid the errors of the old doctrine" of Revelation and Inspiration "while not surrendering any of its material value." From the language of this statement it is already apparent that Professor Seeberg is concerned to preserve the religious value of the Bible; but it is also apparent that he supposes that its "religious" can somewhat sharply be distinguished from its "historic" contents, and the one be taken and the other left.

The task which Professor Seeberg has set before himself is not a new one. It is rather the task which every one who has not liked "the old doctrine" of Revelation and Inspiration has set before himself for the last hundred years; "the kernel and the husk" has been the watchword of a century's criticism and reconstruction of Christian doctrine. Anything new Professor Seeberg has to offer must be sought, therefore, in the particular manner in which he attempts to separate the kernel from the husk, and in the particular elements in "the old doctrine" which he accounts respectively kernel and husk. Even here, however, diligent search will be needed for the detection of anything specifically new. He tells us certainly that he has "attempted to outline the main features of a new theory of Inspiration"; and there are, no doubt, new elements discoverable in the details of his treatment of the subject. But in essence this "new theory" proves to be just the old theory which Richard Rothe set forth so winningly in his *Zur Dogmatik* a half century ago (1869) that it has infected the great body of subsequent thinking. The earnestness with which Professor Seeberg works out his theory, however; the evident seriousness of his purpose to secure to Christianity a really revelatory character; and the modifications he has introduced into Rothe's theory for the furtherance of this end; will justify dropping out of sight for the moment the affiliation of his theory with Rothe's and seeking to learn from his own development of it how "the Modern Positive Theology" would have us think of the Bible, and what it would have us understand by the two great terms, "Revelation" and "Inspiration."

Professor Seeberg's purpose requires of him two tasks, a negative and a positive one. He must clear the ground by showing that "the old theory of inspiration" must be "definitely abandoned," "in all its forms and details." And, then, on this cleared ground he must build up the structure of his "new theory of inspiration", "avoiding the errors of the old doctrine" but retaining all in it "of material value". In prosecuting the former of these two tasks he follows the ordinary lines of the destructive criticism with which we have long been only too familiar, and repeats all its most glaring faults. The notions which have become traditional in so-called "critical circles" as to the formation of the Biblical Canon, the ground of the authority of the Bible, the trustworthiness of the Biblical record, are assumed, and "the old theory" condemned for its lack of accord with them. There is no need to dwell on this destructive side of the argument. There is nothing distinctive in it; it is conventional in the extreme. We pause only to advert briefly to a few isolated points.

The whole elaborate "critical" theory of the slow establishment of the New Testament books into a position of authority,—the formation of a New Testament Canon—is here renewedly exploited, although it is already refuted by the innocent admission that these New Testament writings were given to the Church by their authors as authoritative documents: "As the authors of the Epistles were Apostles, or at least men gifted with the Spirit, these letters were *also*" [the reference is to "the so-called Synoptic Gospels"] "regarded as authoritative documents, *as indeed they were intended to be* (e. g. 1 Cor. vii. 40)" (p. 11; italics ours). The authoritative New Testament was imposed on the Church by its founders, not evolved by the Church in the course of its controversies; and the same is true *mutatis mutandis* of the Old Testament. The entire labored theory of the development of the Canon, of Old and New Testament alike, which has been worked out by the "critical" school is an invention which flies flat in the face of all the facts.

The old Protestant doctrine of the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* to the authority of the Scriptures is, as is usual among the "critical" writers, misconceived in the interests of a merely subjective grounding of the authority of the Scriptures: "Calvin gave them Luther's subjective foundation" (v., 24). To students of Calvin it is needless to say he did nothing of the kind. What Professor Seeberg, in common with the entire "critical" school, has done is to confuse the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* to the contents of Scripture with the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* to the divine origin and authority of Scripture. Dropping out the latter altogether, he endeavors to represent Calvin and the Reformers in general as basing their absolute assurance of the Divine origin and authority of Scripture on the former. That, closely related as these two testimonies of the Spirit are, Calvin did not confuse them, the readers of this REVIEW do not need to have pointed out to them afresh (see number for April 1909, pp. 262 sq.). Suffice it to say that Calvin would have agreed with Professor Seeberg's declara-

tion that "it is sheer nonsense to say that the accuracy of a genealogical table, for instance, or the number of years of a King's reign, or of a miraculous story, or of the date of the composition of a book is [immediately at least] guaranteed by that living witness of the Holy Spirit in us which gives us inward assurance of the grace of God, of the Divine presence of Christ, of sin and forgiveness of sins, of virtuous impulses, in short, of the religious and moral truths of Scripture" (pp. 25-26). But Calvin also taught, what Professor Seeberg has not yet learned, that the Spirit witnesses also to the Divine origin and authority of Scripture in all its extent, through the *nöetic* effects of his regenerating grace, by which the renewed spirit is enabled and led to perceive and estimate in their full validity the *indicia* of divinity in the Scriptures, and so to recognize the hand of God in the book of God. The odd thing is that the view which Professor Seeberg wrongly attributes to Calvin and scores as absurd as Calvin's, proves to be very much his own view. In polemic against Calvin (wrongly interpreted) he declares (p. 26), that the "course of religious experience can never lead us to any certain conclusions with reference to the several historical facts related by Scripture." Unless we have greatly mistaken his meaning, however, it is precisely on the basis of the course of religious experience and on nothing else, that he himself rests our certainty with reference to the great facts of revelation (pp. 111-114). His argument for their reality runs indeed expressly thus: we have a certain religious experience; this religious experience is the product of the teaching of Scripture; this teaching implies the reality of certain facts; "the reality of these facts and words is thereby guaranteed" (p. 712),—that is to say, they are guaranteed ultimately by our own religious experience, and everything is thus made to hang on an "analysis of the nature of religious experience" (p. vii.) Of this, however, more later.

Professor Seeberg eases his task of refuting "the old theory of inspiration" by always speaking of this "theory" (it is the "theory" of Christ and of His Apostles) in its least acceptable and, we may add, least accepted form. To him it is always the theory of "dictation", taking "dictation" in its most literal sense, in which revelation and inspiration are identified, and men are supposed to be employed by God as mere implements which contribute absolutely nothing to the product, not even as much as a flute contributes to the tone of the music played on it. Accordingly he is able, appealing to 1 Cor. i. 16, to cry out: "No one could regard such a confession of ignorance as inspired by the Holy Spirit" (p. 27). Certainly no one could suppose ignorance to be the *result* of inspiration. But why should not confession of an ignorance which is real be made under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit? Is He not the Spirit of Truth? "To what purpose," he demands again, "should God inspire ideas which were already possessed" (p. 27). But why speak of "inspiring" ideas at all? Ideas are not "inspired" but "revealed", to employ Dr. Seeberg's distinction. Certainly ideas which are wrong could not be incorporated in an inspired

body of teaching; but it is not so evident that only ideas which are directly revealed could be incorporated into such a body of teaching. Accordingly, it is only against the extremest theory of mechanical dictation that it is valid to argue that the use of sources by the inspired writers is fatal to inspiration (p. 31). The "hand of the writer may be held by the Holy Spirit" so that he writes only what the Spirit will, and yet he proceed in his work precisely as an uninspired writer would, seeking the same ends. We have no intention, however, of following Professor Seeberg into the details of his argument. We merely point out the serious fault in it that it is so framed as to give the impression that "the old theory of inspiration," with which the detailed credit of the Bible is bound up, is the theory of verbal dictation, rejecting which we are free to adopt some such theory as Professor Seeberg's own. This is not the state of the case. Few have ever taught the theory of verbal dictation, though no doubt a Quenstedt, for example, did; it is certainly by no means characteristically the "old theory of inspiration"; and between it and such a theory as Professor Seeberg proposes there stretches a great gulf, in our passage through which we shall encounter many other theories, which would need to be examined and set aside before such an one as his could come into serious consideration. Professor Seeberg eases his task unduly when he presents the theory of dictation (which practically nobody holds) and his own theory (which nobody ought to hold) as the alternatives between which his readers must choose.

It is time we turned, however, to Professor Seeberg's positive construction.

This runs, as we have already had occasion to note, on fundamentally the same lines as Rothe's. According to Rothe God "manifests" Himself in a series of marvellous historical acts and dispositions; for the understanding of which He "inspires" chosen men by an internal action of His Holy Spirit on their heart and mind. Similarly, according to Professor Seeberg, Revelation consists in the series of the divine acts by which God redeems the world; in a word, in the "history of salvation (*Heilsgeschichte*)"; while Inspiration consists in the operation of the Spirit of God on the hearts and minds of particular men, by means of which they are enabled to understand these divine acts and so to make them operative in the minds of men. "Revelation," says he with concise directness, "is not the impartation of certain abstract ideas to the human race; revelation is history" (p. 39): and revelation being thus just history, the way "God reveals Himself to the human spirit" is "through His guidance of the course of historical evolution" (p. 41). Two things need, however, to be borne in mind here that we may not do injustice to the theory. It is not "the entire stream of historical development" which we have in mind when we speak of Revelation, but the "small section of history which is called the History of Salvation (*Heilsgeschichte*)" (p. 117). And words too may be deeds: "the thoughts and words evoked by God in the actors who are part of this history" are themselves elements in this history (p. 41), so that "utter-

ances directly caused by God" may be counted in among "the historical facts caused by God" (p. 59) and prophecy becomes "itself direct revelation," introducing as it does, "new words of God into history" (p. 77). Revelation remains thus, however, speaking generally, just the historical development of redemption; facts not words. But facts must be understood and put into words to become operative. And this is the function of Inspiration, which is "simply the influence of the Spirit directed to produce the understanding of the given facts of revelation" (p. 59). "Revelation," we read, "itself consists of historical facts caused by God" (p. 59): "Inspiration consists in the fact that the Spirit of revelation creates in His first witnesses the right, sufficient and efficacious understanding of revelation" (p. 57). Again (p. 60): "We understand, therefore, by inspiration certain effects worked by the Spirit of God in the souls of the prophets and the first witnesses of Christ through which they were enabled to understand revelation—its facts and words—and make it intelligible" (p. 69). Revelation, therefore, strictly taken as such (for the exact meaning of the term is not constant in Professor Seeberg's discussion) would remain inoperative if it were not supplemented by Inspiration (p. 32). "The Spirit of God" we read (p. 57), "produces in the first place, the revelation or the facts of salvation (*Heilstatsachen*) in word and deed. Now, this revelation is to become historically operative in humanity. For this purpose it is necessary that witnesses to it should arise who recognize and can express its nature in a way that will make it operative. It is the Spirit that works in revelation who, by special stimulus (*Wirkung*), brings forth in the first witnesses this understanding whereby revelation can be made historically operative. And it is the production of this understanding which we characterize as *inspiration*."

The chief thing we observe in this construction is that it provides only for the acquisition of Divine truth, not at all for its communication. "Revelation" and "Inspiration" are both absorbed in the attainment of truth by its chosen witnesses; nothing is left to safeguard its transmission to others. We have reached the prophet by their means; we have not reached the Scriptures. For us, however, the prophet exists only in the Scriptures: the Scriptures lie between us and the prophets. What does it advantage us if God has revealed Himself in a series of redemptive acts and His Spirit has enabled chosen witnesses to understand and interpret these acts, unless these inspired interpretations and these revealing acts are trustworthily communicated to us? It may soothe us to be told that the Scriptures are "the literary monument which tells us" of the Divine "deeds which have led men to salvation" and of the Divine "knowledge of Salvation" to which certain men of old have attained; that they are "a special effect of revelation", "a literature precipitated, so to speak, by the process of revelation through history" and "thus indirectly themselves also revelation" (p. 45). But will all this satisfy us? What we wish to know is whether these Scriptures are a *trustworthy* record of these revelations. And this question presses upon us with greater persistency

since Professor Seeberg, in clearing the ground of "the old theory of inspiration", has assured us and endeavored to prove to us, that the Scriptures are not always trustworthy either in their record of facts or in their inculcation of principles,—that, for example, they contain statements which are "notoriously false", presuppose antiquated cosmologies, perpetuate popular errors (like the belief in demoniacal possession), set forth outgrown world-views and even present absurd interpretations of facts and prophecies (pp. 26-29). It is in his endeavor to meet this question that Professor Seeberg is perhaps most individual.

He assures us that despite their many faults as a general historical record—let "criticism" do its worst as to that—the Scriptures can be fully trusted precisely as a record of revelation; so fully trusted that, possessing as we do no other understanding of the revelation-history and its thoughts than that deposited in the Scriptures, we may safely take the contents of the Scriptures as the expression of the divine revelation for us (p. 65). The ground on which this assurance is based has a sufficiently Pragmatistic appearance. It is in brief that Scripture serves all the purposes of revelation to us and therefore is revelation. The complex of ideas presented to us by the Scriptures works in us a remarkable inward experience, in which we find ourselves in the living presence of God. And "since we experience in the thoughts of Scripture a divine effect, we characterize it on the ground of experienced faith as Divine revelation" (p. 48). It is "a judgment of our faith" to which we thus give expression; and this judgment carries us very far. It not only assures us that the Bible is a revelation, but it guarantees to us the historical character of the facts of which this revelation is an interpretation. When we experience the ideas based on these facts as true, this assuredly should carry with it the reality of the facts on which these ideas are based (p. 119). To the elucidation of this point a whole section is given (pp. 111-114). "Inspiration" we are told (p. 112), "was an operation of the Spirit of God through which a man learned to understand the nature of the facts given him. From this it follows, however, that so far as inspired knowledge can be gained from a fact or a word, this fact and this word are guaranteed as actual. If God produces knowledge by means of certain particular facts, these facts must needs also be produced by God. The more paradoxical and miraculous these facts are the more certain is this conclusion. If then the Apostles through God's Spirit gained inspired knowledge from the resurrection of Christ, the actuality of the resurrection is thereby established for everyone who feels the witness of the Spirit in the Bible. If the words of Jesus and the oracles spoken through the prophets have become the object of inspired understanding, then for the religious view their reality is proved thereby." We need only bear in mind that this guarantee does not extend to the minute details of historical occurrence, or to the verbal accuracy of texts, but is available only for the establishment of the reality of the great facts of Salvation (*Heilstatsachen*) and ideas of revelation

(*Offenbarungsgedanken*) to feel assured that we have in it a thoroughly satisfactory criterion of reality.

It can scarcely escape us that precisely what we have here is an attempt to discover a basis for confidence in the great facts recorded in the Bible and the great ideas set forth in it without implication of the historical trustworthiness or of the authority of the Bible itself. The basis of confidence is shifted from the Bible to Christian experience, or what we used to call "the Christian Consciousness" and the Bible is made to play the role only of vehicle of transmission. The whole conception of an authoritative book is set aside and we are to accept in the Bible only what Christian experience validates. It is asserted on the other hand, however, that Christian experience validates all the great "salvation facts" and "revelation ideas" brought to us by the Bible. There is of course nothing new in this general position; but it is well worth carefully noting as indicative of the place in the history of thought of the Modern-positive Theology. By it the Modern-positive Theology takes its place as only a part of that general tendency which has been long operative in the German churches, to substitute, as the seat of authority for the Christian man, his own inner experience for the infallible book which the Reformers substituted for the infallible Church: in other words it is only the latest outcome of that great subjectivistic movement of thought inaugurated by Schleiermacher.

Nothing could be further from our wish, of course, than to deny or doubt the validity of "the argument from experience", which at its height is only another name for the *testimonium Spiritus Sancti* to the contents of revelation. There is such a thing as the "assurance of salvation"; and this assurance of salvation does validate the great "salvation facts" and "revelation ideas" brought to us by the Bible, and is not dependent on a precedent confidence in the trustworthiness of the Bible: to the Spirit-prepared heart these great facts and ideas are their own credentials. But this is not to say we can get along very well, then, without a Bible. After all it was from the Bible that we got these great facts and ideas to which our "Christian experience" sets its seal that they are real and true; and the authoritative Bible if it is not the *prius* of this "Christian experience" may well prove to be its *posterius*. In point of fact, no one doubts that the doctrine of the detailed authority of the Scriptures—their "inspiration" in the old sense—belongs to the "high doctrines" of Christianity, and does not underlie our first confidence in its fundamental facts, which rests rather on the general historical trustworthiness of the Biblical record. But it is another question whether Christianity, as a system of truth, can dispense with this "high doctrine", and can even get along without the general historical trustworthiness of the Bible record, abandoning it to a naturalistic "historical criticism" and contenting itself meanwhile with an appeal to "Christian experience". For one thing, this were to shift the Christianity which we are to teach from an objective to a subjective foundation, and to limit its content to the few "vital" truths which "find" us, with the ultimate elimination

of all objective basis for these "vital" truths themselves and the relegation of them for their content as well as for their validation to the subjective experience itself. For we must not conceal from ourselves, for another thing, that a procedure such as is proposed will necessarily introduce a schism into our mental life which cannot be permanent and which can have but one issue. What is the use of our telling ourselves that our experience of religious effects arising from the ideas gained by the Apostles in fellowship with the risen Christ, guarantees for us the fact of His resurrection "for the religious point of view" (p. 112. Cf. p. 49); if our critical examination of the historical record convinces us that in point of fact Christ did not rise from the dead, for the scientific point of view? We cannot continue to believe on the warrant of our religious experience what we know to be contrary to fact on the verdict of our scientific investigation. Unless we are prepared to accept the validation of the facts and ideas brought to us by the Bible on the faith of "religious experience" as the validation of the trustworthiness of the Bible as a record of facts and ideas, we shall be driven for our entire Christianity into the most unreal subjectivism. But so soon as we adopt the former attitude, our "religious experience" becomes a testimony not only to the facts and ideas which "find" us but to the trustworthiness of the Biblical record which brings us these facts and ideas, and the first step is taken in the validation of an authoritative Bible. This first step taken, others will necessarily follow, and we shall soon find ourselves in the possession of an objectively and not merely subjectively established Christianity. And we shall find ourselves in possession of this objectively established Christianity ultimately precisely because we shall find in our hands an authoritative Bible, and for no other reason whatever. What the ground of the Bible's authority is, what is the nature of the Divine operations by which it is communicated to the Bible, what is its extent, and what is its degree—such questions as these may still remain open to investigation. But the Bible's authority having been once established we may be disposed and indeed required to listen to its own testimony on these subsequent matters; and if its own testimony is followed we shall have as a result nothing other than the "old Protestant theory" of inspiration. It really admits of no question that the Bible conceives itself the product of the Divine Spirit in such a sense that it is the pure expression of His mind and will. And nothing is more certain than that the Bible stands forth in the world at once as a great spiritual fact, and an interpretation of this fact; that this is a fact which "finds" us and produces in our hearts spiritual effects. Does not the maxim hold here too that unique spiritual effects infer unique spiritual causes? And if our religious experience quickened by the Scriptures and their message fails to validate the great fact of the Bible, how can we plead it as the validation of other facts implicated in it?

What Professor Seeberg has sought to do, it will be observed, is to supply a reasoned basis for the common notion that the Scriptures are authoritative only in spiritual matters,—“for faith and practice” as the

phrase goes,—and for all else may be freely delivered over to the hand of the destroyer. Our confidence in what the Scriptures transmit to us, he says, is grounded in our religious experience; and therefore, he seems to say, we have ground for confidence only in that element of Scripture which religious experience directly validates. There are therefore two sides to Professor Seeberg's argument, a positive and a negative side, and the trouble is that the negative side fits ill in with the positive side. Conceived as an attempt to show that in Christian experience we have a basis for confidence in the great Christian facts and ideas which underlie and give form to that experience, we may find help and comfort in it. Conceived as an attempt to show that, having in Christian experience this basis for confidence in the great Christian facts and ideas, we may dispense with an authoritative Bible, we can look upon it only as an assault upon the foundations of the Christian faith. The former element is the "Positive", the latter the "Modern" element in the "Modern Positive Theology"; and they do not agree together. The one is fundamentally Supernaturalistic and the other fundamentally Naturalistic; and a Supernaturalistic Naturalism or Naturalistic Supernaturalism is a contradiction no less in fact than in terms. If in a supernaturally created Christian experience we have a guarantee of the truth of the great revelation-ideas brought to us by the Bible and constituting its substance, and of the reality as well of the great salvation-facts with which these ideas are connected in the Bible as their interpretation, then we have in this Christian experience a guarantee of the trustworthiness and authority of the Bible which records these facts and develops their meaning. And if we will not admit the validity of this guarantee in the one case, we cannot put confidence in it in the other: the "scientific" considerations which lead us to reject it in the one may compel our rejection of it in the other also. The question which really faces us in both cases alike is, What is the real state of the evidence? Not abstractly, Is the positive evidence of religious experiences or the negative evidence of "scientific" investigation most conclusive? But concretely, Is the positive evidence of religious experience or the negative evidence of "scientific" investigation most conclusive in this case? We cannot set each off by itself and follow both, each with one-half of the soul. Nor can we decline the task of estimating the weight of the evidence as a whole, by shutting our eyes to one or the other variety of the evidence, or attending to them only alternately. Christianity is neither a mere philosophy nor an empty illusion: it is objectively real and subjectively operative, and finds its rooting both in its inspired record and in its spiritual efficacy.

Princeton.

B. B. WARFIELD.

THE PERSON AND PLACE OF JESUS CHRIST: THE CONGREGATIONAL UNION LECTURE FOR 1909. By P. T. FORSYTH, M.A., D.D., Principal of Hackney College, Hampstead. London: Congregational Union of England and Wales, Memorial Hall, E. C., and Hodder and Stoughton, Warwick Square, E. C. 1909; pp. 357.

This volume consists of twelve lectures. The first seven lectures are occupied with a discussion of the Deity of Christ, and His place in the Christian religion. They cover ground similar to that traversed by Dr. Denney in his recent book, *Jesus and the Gospel*, though with far less thoroughness and ability than is shown by Dr. Denney. In the second lecture on "The Religion of Jesus and the Gospel of Christ," Dr. Forsyth shows that "the religion of Jesus"—by which is meant a religion of which Jesus is only the first subject and not the divine object—has no historical right to go by the name of Christianity. After showing this, the author goes on in the third lecture to point out how our sense of the greatness of Christ is being increased by the historical and critical study of the New Testament, and how the Athanasian explanation of Christ's greatness is the only satisfactory one, the Socinian and Arian views being entirely inadequate.

The remaining nine lectures constitute the essential part of the volume. The first four of these are concerned with the Deity of Christ and His essential place in Christianity, seeking confirmation of both these truths from Christ's consciousness, from "Apostolic inspiration," and from "the testimony of experience in the soul and in the Church." The good points in this discussion are the emphasis on the necessity for the Apostolic interpretation of Christ, and the exhibition of the organic connection between this and the Christology of the Synoptic Gospels. There are, however, a number of marked defects in the discussion, which we only mention, since they lie outside the main topic of the book, although they concern matters of fundamental importance. Some of these defects are the failure adequately to ground the authority of the apostles which, in turn, is due to the failure to determine the relation of Christian experience and supernatural revelation; the great confusion in the discussion of the idea of inspiration, and the way in which faith and theology are sharply separated.

The chief significance of Dr. Forsyth's lectures lies in his discussion of the doctrine of the Person of Christ or the question of the Two Natures. This occupies the remainder of the book. It takes its place among recent attempts to revive the Kenotic theory. The doctrine of Kenosis, after its decline on the Continent, had quite a vogue in England some twenty years ago, when it was resorted to in order to escape from the difficulty raised by a certain school of Old Testament criticism whose opinions regarding the Old Testament were diametrically opposed to those of Jesus. This was the immediate occasion of Gore's Essay, "The Holy Spirit and Inspiration," published in *Lux Mundi* in 1889, which was followed by his Bampton Lecture, *The Incarnation of the Son of God*, 1891, and his book entitled *Dissertations on Subjects Connected With the Incarnation*, 1895. A similar line of thought was developed by Mason, *The Conditions of Our Lord's Life on Earth*, 1896, and by Ottley, *The Doctrine of the Incarnation*, 1896; and somewhat more extremely kenotic, by Adamson, *The Mind of Christ*, 1898. Fairbairn also developed a kenotic position from a

more speculative point of view in his book, *Christ and Modern Thought*, 1893. A number of other names might be mentioned, such as those of Swayne, Kedney and Hawkesworth, but it is more to the purpose to notice that the Kenotic theory seems to have declined in England. It was ably refuted by Powell, *The Principle of the Incarnation*, 1896, and in America by F. J. Hall, *The Kenotic Theory*, 1898. But it was not the influence of these and other books written in opposition to the Kenotic theory, so much as the inherent weakness of the theory and its inability to withstand the attacks of a growing naturalistic humanitarianism, which led to its decline. The theory, however, which we had hoped was dying or dead, has been revived in recent British theology. In a recent number of *The Expository Times*, December, 1909, pp. 105-108, Prof. H. R. MacIntosh has published an article on "The Revival of Kenoticism," in which he calls attention to its revival in Great Britain, and mentions Forrest's *Authority of Christ*, 1906, in which the author is more decidedly kenotic than in his *The Christ of History and of Experience*, 1897; D'Arcy's article on "The Trinity" in Hasting's *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, ii, p. 762; Walker's *Gospel of Reconciliation*; and Garvie's *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*; and this present volume of Forsyth. MacIntosh also, in this article, gives his own assent to the kenotic theory.

Turning our attention to Dr. Forsyth, we find that in one respect his view resembles that of Gore and Ottley, while in another respect it differs from theirs. It resembles them inasmuch as in lectures eight and nine on the "Moralizing of Dogma" there is the same attempt to distinguish between the metaphysical and the ethical attributes of God, and the same contention that the ethical attributes are more essential than the metaphysical attributes. On the other hand, while Ottley and Gore gave formal assent to the doctrine of the Two Natures, and then practically ignored it in their Christological constructions in which they seem to have recognized but one mind in Christ, Forsyth wishes to discard the idea of two natures as being too metaphysical, and to substitute for it that of the "involution" of two movements of will or of "two personal actions." This idea, however, is quite inadequate to explain the portrait of Christ in the Gospels. What we see there is not two movements of will, but rather the movements of two wills—the human and the divine. Dr. Forsyth's theory, however, does not resemble the metamorphic view of Gess which asserted that there was only one nature in Christ, a divine nature shrunk to merely human limitations. Dr. Forsyth wishes to be rid of the idea of "Nature" altogether, and to substitute for it that of voluntary activity. He lays the foundations for his position in the lectures on the "Moralizing of Dogma." All the ideas involved in the Incarnation of Christ must be "moralized"; they have been too "physical" or too "metaphysical". The Incarnation, Dr. Forsyth tells us, cannot have been by way of omnipotence in any metaphysical sense, it must have been by way of "moral modulation." "Some metaphysics," he says, "is here involved, certainly, but it is a metaphysics of the

conscience." This is all very obscure. We can get at Dr. Forsyth's meaning only by seeking his idea on each point. Instead of the idea of a divine nature and a human nature in Christ, we are to substitute the idea of "moral action." The Incarnation in some way must involve two moral actions. Then, in place of the idea of the union in one person of the divine and human natures, we must speak of the "involution" of the two moral actions, or, as Forsyth puts it in another place (p. 231), "The ethical notion of the true unity as the interpenetration of persons by moral action must take the place of the old metaphysic of the union of natures by a *tour de force*." If the Incarnation is the result of the "interpenetration of persons," it would certainly seem as if this must involve some form of Nestorianism, but Dr. Forsyth explicitly rejects this, and asserts the unity of our Lord's personality. How, then, is the Incarnation to be conceived? Dr. Forsyth's view appears to be a combination of the Kenotic theory and that of Dörner which affirmed that Christ was a man being gradually metamorphosed into God. It is not easy to see how these theories can be combined. It will be best to let Dr. Forsyth speak for himself. He says (p. 232), "Taking this moral method we seem shut up to one of two theories. If the Incarnation was the result rather than the cause of Christ's moral action, then it was the result either of a great and creative moral decision of His before he entered the world, which preserves His pre-existence and seems to require some form of Kenosis. Or else it was the result of the continuous and ascending moral action in His historic life, wherein His moral growth, always in unbroken union with God, gave but growing effect to God's indwelling; while the final and absolute union took place when His perfect self-sacrifice in death completed His personal development, and finally identified Him with God. So that we then have a progressive incarnation of God and a progressive deification of man in a rising scale of mutual involution, which requires some form of adoptianism." Dr. Forsyth says that these two ideas are to be combined.

The cross is "the Nadir of that self-limitation which flowed from the supra-mundane self-emptying of the Son," and it is also "the zenith of that moral exaltation which had been mounting throughout the long sacrifice of His earthly life." Hence we have the "Kenosis or self-emptying of Christ" (Lecture XI), and the "plerosis or the self-fulfilment of Christ" (Lecture XII). The result of the process of kenosis and pleriosis, Dr. Forsyth sums up as follows (p. 343): "What we have in Christ, therefore, is more than the co-existence of two natures, or even their interpenetration. We have within this single increate Person the mutual involution of the two personal acts or movements supreme in spiritual being, the one distinctive of man, the other distinctive of God; the one actively productive from the side of Eternal God, the other actively receptive from the side of growing man; the one being the pointing, in a corporeal person, of God's long action in entering history, the other the pointing of man's moral

growth in the growing appropriation by Jesus of His divine content as he becomes a fuller organ for God's full action on man."

This combination, it seems to us, is far more difficult to understand than the union of two natures in one person. If we speak of Jesus as gradually becoming a fuller organ for God's full action on man, then it would seem as if He were simply a man indwelt by God. Or, if we become saturated with pantheizing ideas, we might suppose, with Dörner, that Jesus was a man being gradually changed into God. But according to Forsyth the personality of Jesus is divine; He is a "single increate Person." Hence, if again we are imbued with pantheizing notions, we might conceive of the divine Son being metamorphosed into a man. But what can the "mutual involution of two personal movements" mean? As a matter of fact, if the Incarnation is the result of a self-emptying of the Son of God, then the "plerosis," or self-fulfilment, is really the series of acts of that shrunken divine Person by which He comes to a self-consciousness of what He was and is—a process recognized by Gess. In other words, we have here nothing more than the Kenotic theory.

When now we turn to ask whether Dr. Forsyth has given an essentially new form of this theory, we must answer this question in the negative. His view resembles that of Ebrard in certain important respects. The English Kenoticists, as for example Ottley, wrote as if the divine attributes, omniscience for example, remained in Christ's possession to a certain extent and as if He deliberately and by an act of power abstained from the exercise of this attribute. This absurd position Dr. Forsyth does not assert. He holds that instead of two natures in Christ there are two "modes of being," and hence two modes of existence of the divine attributes. Omniscience, for example, exists in an eternal form in which it is the knowledge of all things; but it can exist in a finite and temporal form in which it is a discursive and successive and growing knowledge under human conditions. We have, he says, not so much the renunciation of attributes, nor their possession and concealment, as the retraction of their mode of being from actuality to potentiality. This retraction, however, is not continued and voluntary in the life of Christ; it took place once for all in the Incarnation. When, however, we ask what this retracted and potential omniscience is, we look in vain for an answer, and this is not surprising because no answer is possible. Retracted omniscience is, of course, not omniscience at all. To speak of potential omniscience is simply to talk nonsense.

When we turn to the attribute of omnipotence, these distinctions might appear more plausible, but in point of fact, at this point Dr. Forsyth abandons this distinction of two modes of existence of these divine attributes. For even God, he says (p. 227), is not omnipotent in an "unregenerate sense," and "holiness is divine power; it does not wait on it" (p. 227). Here he seems to have transcended the limits of thought altogether; argument is no longer possible. We cannot but think that there is a real distinction between holiness and omni-

potence, whatever difficulties the omnipotence of God and the evident omnipotence of the Christ of the New Testament may make for the Kenotic theory.

We shall not stop to criticise the Kenotic theory. It has been successfully refuted, we think, again and again. It is itself so metaphysical a theory that it has no right to plead agnosticism in regard to metaphysics in reply to criticism of its idea that Christ could be divine and yet have only the attributes of man. And for the same reason this theory cannot reply to the argument against it from the immutability of God. Moreover, it either explicitly denies or practically ignores the Scripture doctrine of the Two Natures of Christ, without which the Scripture statements concerning Christ, both in the Gospels and the Epistles, are in hopeless confusion and contradiction. The Kenotic theory, furthermore, neglects one whole side of the life and portrait of Christ in the Gospels, and is in direct contradiction with a number of Scripture passages which either clearly imply or explicitly affirm that during Christ's life on earth He retained His divine attributes. And in its consistent form, as represented by Gess, the Kenotic theory is Arian in its doctrine of the Trinity.

In closing we should like to call attention to the statement of Dr. MacIntosh, in the article already mentioned, to the effect that the criticism of the Kenotic theory has not been very "far sighted," and that "some of the arguments" failed to distinguish between the fundamental principle of the theory and the particular forms in which it was applied. Dr. MacIntosh lays stress on the fundamental idea as distinguished from particular forms of its application. It is no doubt true that some of the arguments against the Kenotic theory were concerned to show not only the weakness of its fundamental principle, but also the inconsistencies and difficulties which attach to its concrete application in various forms. This is true, for example, of the criticism of the theory by the late Dr. Bruce in his *Humiliation of Christ*. But it is also true that much of the criticism of the Kenotic theory has been directed against its fundamental idea, and it is not too much to say that the entire hypothesis has been satisfactorily refuted.

Princeton.

C. W. HODGE.

SOCIAL SOLUTIONS IN THE LIGHT OF CHRISTIAN ETHICS. By THOMAS C. HALL, Professor of Christian Ethics in Union Theological Seminary, New York. 8vo, pp. 390. New York: Eaton & Mains. Cincinnati: Jennings & Graham. Price, \$1.50 net.

The purpose of this work is not the exposure of what all men condemn in the existing social system. It is to try that system as it is in itself and as honest men would defend it and perpetuate it by the principles of Christian ethics, and also to subject to the same test the various substitutes which have been proposed or which are being proposed for it. The result of this trial is that neither the existing social system nor any one of the substitutes proposed for it is found

to realize, or to be capable of realizing, the Christian ideal. This ideal is the family relation, and certainly no existing or suggested form of the state is or could be conceived as a large family. What is needed, therefore, is not a development or even the moralization and Christianization of the present order of society, but an entirely new and truly Christian order. The family idea must be made the controlling one in religion, in politics, in economics, as truly as in the life of the home; and when it does become thus dominant, competition will cease in the business world, pure democracy will be universal in the political world, and the brotherhood of man will be the keynote of all religion.

In order to bring out these positions the writer first presents the social outlook of Jesus and of Paul. He then exhibits, examines and estimates our own social order. He next gives a glowing description of the kingdom that is coming. He then compares with it and proves to be wanting, first, the proposals of "Individualism," as those of "the Classical Political Economy," those of "the Manchester School," those of Individualism in the United States, those of Anarchy, and those of the Single Tax; secondly, the proposals of "Socialism," as those of the Fabian Society, those of "Marxian Socialism," those of "State Socialism," and those of "Continental Socialism;" and, finally, the proposals of "Social Amelioration," as in the sphere of "Personal Relief," in "The Home," in "Education," in "The Workshop," in the case of "Admitted Social Evil," in that of the "City" and in that of "Political Machinery." The volume closes with a "Summary" of the whole discussion, an admirable "Selected Bibliography" and an "Index."

To say that the writer is both interesting and instructive would be only the truth. To add that much of what he has written is both sane and timely would be only just. For example, his protest against "the loveless life," his insistence that while every man must have his own political program, the Church as such ought to keep out of politics, his emphasis on life in comparison with property, his plea for the home and for saving woman for the home—all this, and much else, we can not commend too highly.

Yet the discussion as a whole we are obliged to pronounce unsatisfactory, and for the following among many reasons:

1. The fundamental idea of the whole book is wrong. The family relation is not the ideal in all social spheres. These spheres differ radically in nature and purpose. Hence, each has an ideal of its own. The family is the institute of the affections. It originates in natural affection, and it is fitted and intended to express and to develop love. The state is the institute of rights. It is demanded by the sense of right, and its office is to define and to guarantee rights. The church is the institute of worship. It begins with belief in God, and its function is to make him known and to bring the whole life into relation to him. These social spheres, then, being thus distinct, it is absurd to make the ideal of one the ideal of all. All are related as being different departments of the kingdom of God; but each is distinct as having its own contribution to make, and in its own way,

to that kingdom, and, therefore, to confound them is, as Dorner has written, immoral.

2. The discussion is as much at fault in its development as in its foundation. This must be so if, as is the case, the development is on and from the foundation. Thus:

(a) It is not true that competition in business is ruled out under the kingdom of God. Of course, dishonest or unjust competition is; loveless competition is; selfish competition is. But, then, competition need not be unjust or loveless or selfish. It may be according to truth, as honorable business always is; it may extend the helping hand to the unfortunate competitor, as modern business often does; it may, while seeking the highest prizes of which it is capable, do so, not for itself, but for the sake of God's kingdom and out of loyalty to him. This is not saying that business thus conducted would realize the family ideal. It is saying that God's ideal for the business world is no more identical with his ideal for the family than the necessary truths of mathematics are identical with the emotions of the heart. It does not mean that in business we are not under obligations to love our neighbor as ourselves: it does mean that in business, as is not the case in the family, to love our neighbor as ourselves depends on our making the most that we can make justly of ourselves. In a word, love is the universal principle of the Christian life, but the expression of love ought to vary according to the sphere in which it is exercised. The judge ought to love the prisoner at the bar as truly as the criminal's father loves him; but we should subvert the foundations of society were we to require both to feel and to act toward him the same.

(b) Pure democracy is not the political ideal. As has been well said, "Government is of God, but the forms of it are of men." The Gospel neither teaches nor presupposes any particular form of government. Nor may it be said even that it favors democracy, and therefore that this should be "the goal of our political ambition." On the contrary, if the spiritual order is to be the model for the civil order, then it would be some kind of representative government and not pure democracy that we should have. Our author fails utterly to recognize the significance of the principal of election in this connection. In both church and state God has set some to bear rule; and if He has not chosen these on account of any superiority of desert on their part, He has graciously chosen them that He may graciously qualify them for pre-eminence. Indeed, it is in the fact that Calvinism has so strongly insisted on this that Dr. Hall seems to find a chief reason for his abhorrence of Calvinism.

(c) The brotherhood of man is not *the* keynote of all religion. There is another and more fundamental principle, and that is the sovereign fatherhood of God. The emphasis in these days should be on the adjective. It is a most blessed truth that our Lord came "to reveal to us the Father", to teach us and to show us that our Sovereign God is also our father; but this did not mean that because our father He was no longer, as many appear now to suppose, our sovereign God.

Indeed, it is His sovereignty that is the pedestal of His fatherhood. It is just because "He doeth according to His will in the army of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth" that it is so blessed to call Him Father. His Fatherhood is so precious because He is our absolute King. Nothing, therefore, could be more subversive of religion than the endeavor to make the brotherhood of man its controlling principle. Those who would do this tell us that "for the really socially thinking Christian the only value of 'punishment,' of prisons, and of reformatories is to protect society by making, if possible, the unsocial man a member of God's kingdom. Having nothing to do with revenge or vengeance—in fact, seeing that in God's family these can have no place—the restoration of the criminal to society is the aim of any rational 'punishment.'" That is, the happiness of man is to determine our relation to God. His righteousness is to be lost sight of in our desire for human welfare. But this means that man is to be put on God's throne and so religion in any true sense to be made impossible.

3. It is, however, in its very presuppositions that this discussion is most at fault. These presuppositions are three:

(a) Its position with regard to Scripture. It assumes the authority of Scripture, but it is "the Scriptures as historically understood and critically interpreted". That is, it is the Scriptures as revised and emasculated by the destructive antisupernaturalistic higher criticism of our day. This must be the force of the words quoted: otherwise there would be no occasion for them. Where is the scholar, no matter how conservative, who does not insist that the Scriptures shall be "historically understood and critically interpreted"? It must be, therefore, a particular kind of historical understanding and of critical interpretation that the writer has in view; and it is not necessary to read far between the lines to see that the particular kind of historical understanding and of critical interpretation which he has in mind is just that which assumes that the Bible can not be the infallible record of the infallible Word of God Himself, but must be at best merely inspired and inspiring expressions of man's religious nature. In fine, our author appeals to Scripture only after he has robbed it of divine authority.

(b) His position with reference to truth. Its primary importance is denied. "We set forth," says Dr. Hall (p. 9), "no dogmatic system as belonging to the essence of the Christian faith, for history has abundantly proved that Christian faith of the highest order and most effective energy has linked itself with very different and mutually exclusive systems." That is to say, ethics and theology are not only distinct, but independent. So far from "truth being", as the Scriptures and our Standards declare, "in order to holiness," those who hold different and even "mutually exclusive" views of the truth as to God, His relation to us, and our duty to Him, may both attain the highest grade of character and of efficiency. What reason, then, we are led to ask, can there be in an appeal to "the principles of Christian ethics"

as these appear in "the life and purpose of Jesus"? Why should we regard these as "authoritative", how can we regard them as "authoritative", if it makes no difference who Jesus was or what He came to do? In a word, our author in repudiating all dogmatic basis cuts loose from reason as well as from divine authority.

(c) His view of the progress of the Christian life and the development of the kingdom of God. This is what might have been expected, what must have been expected. He who has repudiated the authority of Scripture and of reason has nothing left but blind evolution by natural selection. "We must feel our way out of the bogs and quagmires into which society has stumbled." We must all make trial of the different "social solutions" and of the various "social ameliorations", and those which survive because they will work we should adopt. This is all that divine guidance and divine providence amount to. And then, too, the question at once arises, How can we tell whether a solution or an amelioration really does work? What we want is often not what we need. In a word, can we attain to truth unless we start with truth? To test our solution and amelioration we must have given, at least in principle and outline, "the Divine Order of Human Society."

Princeton.

WILLIAM BRENTON GREENE, JR.

GENERAL LITERATURE.

SOCIETY AND POLITICS in ANCIENT ROME. Essays and Sketches by FRANK FROST ABBOTT, Professor of Classics in Princeton University. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons. 1909. Pp. 267. Price \$1.25 net.

With Dill's two volumes still new and Friedlaender's great work being put into English it might seem that there was little call for another volume dealing with the culture of Ancient Rome. But, apart from the fact that Professor Abbott's little volume deals mostly with the days of the Republic, which Dill does not touch, the immensity of the subject and the perennial interest in the great civilization in which our own has its roots, will always justify the appearance of such a work as that before us. Never indeed should Prof. Abbott's work be compared with the others mentioned. They have as their object the concatenated exposition of the culture and life of the Romans in its completeness; it touches on only a few phases of the same. Moreover, while they carry us back in thought and imagination to Roman days, Prof. Abbott never lets us forget our own time and its problems. Indeed his prime object in publishing this work seems to be not so much to illumine ancient history as to hold the mirror of the past before our face that we may therein see ourselves—a little distorted or caricatured, but none the less our real selves. This is one of the things that gives charm to the work—for it is a delightful book to read.

The first essay, on Municipal Politics in Pompeii, with its accounts of wall-posters, club enthusiasm, tradesmen's unions and women's interference reminds one of nothing more than the hurry-scurry emotionalism of our own election week. The Story of the two Oligarchies, in which is compared the struggle between the Consul and the Senate with that now going on in our own country between the President and the Senate, is one that will undoubtedly be and deserves to be widely read; for Professor Abbott makes it abundantly clear that the situations are remarkably parallel, and, though he refrains from any prophecy, his closing warning, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty," should be always remembered. The other essays, if not all of equal interest and value, are both informing and entertaining. They introduce us in very human fashion to the woman's rights question of ancient Rome; the Stoic is compared with the New England Puritan, Trimalchio and his fellows with our own "self-made" rich. Cicero's son is the subject of another chapter; *mutatis mutandis* it might be the story of any one of a hundred youths to-day. In the essays on Petrarch's Letters to Cicero, Spurious Inscriptions and the Evolution of the Modern Forms of the Letters of the Alphabet, the author has overstepped the boundaries set by the title page, but after reading the essays we are glad he did. Such chips from a student's workshop are always interesting, especially when, as in the present case, they have been nicely wrought together by a reliable scholar.

Princeton,

KERR D. MACMILLAN.

SOUTH AMERICA: ITS MISSIONARY PROBLEMS. By Bishop THOMAS B. NEELY. Educational Department, The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909. Pp. x., 312.

Four years ago (June, 1906) Bishop Neely published his booklet on *South America a Mission Field*, the burden of which was to exhibit that country as a legitimate field for missionary activity. We remember cherishing at that time the hope that the same author would tell us more about the missionary side of South America. This he has now done in a book that contains a wealth of helpful material.

Popular views of South America are likely to be reversed by some of the statements in this book. We learn, for example, that it is not strictly a *Latin* country (pp. 67-69), that the Roman Church there has been a decided failure (pp. 162, 176, 181, etc.), and that it is not a Christian country at all (p. 276). Certainly, the Romanism which Bishop Neely describes is not Christian: it is what he calls it; viz., semi-paganism. From all this there is one safe conclusion: South America needs the pure Gospel of Protestant Christianity.

The book is interspersed with useful pen-maps and excellent illustrations. It is not, however, an ideal text-book for the ordinary mission-study class. The chapters are entirely too long, and they are not easily divided. Chapter I., for instance, while thoroughly informing, is

wearisomely statistical (see pp. 18-19, 28-29, 32-33). Chapters II. and III. are too severely, or rather too minutely historical. These data are exceedingly valuable, but to the average uninitiated they are also bewildering. In fact, Bishop Neely's whole presentation, while not exactly exhaustive, does have a sufficiency of historical and statistical minutiae to lift it beyond the point where it is most serviceable as a text-book and to place it where it might almost be regarded as reference material. In so far, the book is a disappointment. We fear, not so many classes will adopt it as we could hope. But every one who does study it will learn much of a country that must force itself more and more upon the consciousness of intelligent Christian people.

Langhorne, Pa.

BENJAMIN F. PAIST, JR.

KOREA IN TRANSITION. By JAMES S. GALE, seventeen years a missionary in Koréa. Educational Department, The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. 156 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y. 1909. Pp. xi., 270.

Readers of Korean missions are already indebted to Dr. Gale for his charming *Korean Sketches* and *The Vanguard*. Now he renders a distinct service to mission-study classes in presenting *Korea in Transition*. It is quite *sui generis*. Had the author's name been concealed, we should have guessed Dr. Gale. He breaks with the stereotyped methods of many missionary *littérateurs* and writes in a style that is unique, vigorous, and captivating. There are, of course, certain things which every mission-study manual must say. Dr. Gale does not omit these. He says them, every one; but he has a way of saying them that engages at once the reader's interest. He is like the Korean road of which he writes (p. 18): "You meet with surprises and delights all along the way."

Chapter VII. relates the story of the Pyeng Yang revival in 1907, a most wonderful work of grace in the Korean heart, and all the more remarkable in view of the fact that (pp. 172-173) the evangelistic method in Korea is simply narrative, not by street preaching as in India, "but in the little room seven by seven by ten, seated cross-kneed on the matting, with the Bible opened and somebody to read and pray with."

The picture of the native Christian here given is an inspiration. It is no cheap Christianity. There is no mock self-renunciation, no convenient cross-bearing, no indirect generosity, but a real self-denial that comes only out of a head and a heart where the hidden movings and the secret potencies of the Holy Spirit abide.

Langhorne, Pa.

BENJAMIN F. PAIST, JR.

SPEECHES OF WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN. Revised and arranged by himself. Two Volumes. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 1909. Pp. 322, 428.

These two volumes comprise the most notable efforts of this well-

known politician in his chosen field of oratory. They are grouped under Taxation and Bimetallism, Political Speeches, Speeches in Foreign Lands, Educational and Religious Speeches and Miscellaneous Speeches. The famous *Prince of Peace* lecture is a fine bit of popular apologetics, while the one on *Missions* is a telling defence of the great work of the Church, written from the intelligent layman's point of view. The volumes are introduced by a brief, modest, well-written biographical sketch from the hand of Mrs. Bryan.

Princeton.

W. B. SHEDDAN.

THE HOME BUILDER. By LYMAN ABBOTT. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1908. Pp. 130. Price, 75 cents, net.

This is a beautifully written book. With the skill born of his gifted ancestry and his lifetime of service in literary work, the author presents to us the Ideal Woman. He takes as the text for his sermon the last chapter of Proverbs, but the divisions are all modern. It is the woman in her home who is presented as Daughter, Bride, Wife, Mother, Housekeeper, Philanthropist, Saint and Grandmother: and she is a charming figure in all these phases. Some of us might question whether she is so liberal in theology as Dr. Abbott paints her, but evidently she is a composite photograph; some features are heavily shaded and others are made conspicuous by the skill of the artist. It is a little disturbing to be told that she is no theologian and yet to hear that she reads "the Samson and Elisha stories as legends, the books of Ruth and Esther as romances, the book of Job as an epic and the Song of Songs as a love poem." The publishers have given the book a setting well worthy of the matter and its open pages are very inviting.

Princeton.

W. B. SHEDDAN.

THE MASCULINE IN RELIGION. By CARL DELOS CASE, Ph.D. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society. Pp. 120.

Here is a collection of so-called sermons which are somewhat loosely strung together by a general, vague theme. The first chapters are an argument that Christianity has been shaped to-day more on what the author calls feminine ideals than is proper in a well-rounded religion. The later chapters appear to discuss some answers to a lot of questions sent to business and professional men. The whole impression is uncertain and inconclusive. The disease is not clearly diagnosed and no remedy is formulated. The writer gets involved in his thought and betrays his desperation by groping after unusual expression as when (p. 42) he says "woman is anabolic and man is katabolic." So he quotes one of Thayer's definitions of *κόσμος*, using that of a specific sub-class, but immediately proceeds to speak of the "world" in the same paragraph in a sense not comprised in his particular definition. It is a well-made book from the printer's viewpoint, but it lacks much to make the thought as valuable as the press work.

Princeton.

W. B. SHEDDAN.

PERIODICAL LITERATURE.

American Journal of Theology, Chicago, July: JOHN J. MARTIN, Nature of the Atonement; HENRY P. SMITH, Origin of the Messianic Hope in Israel; DOUGLASS C. MACINTOSH, Pragmatic Element in the Teaching of Paul; ALFRED H. LLOYD, Possible Idealism of a Pluralist.

Bibliotheca Sacra, Oberlin, July: MELVIN GROVE KYLE, Recent Testimony of Archaeology to the Scriptures; CHARLES MEAD MARSH, Paul on the Resurrection of Christ; RALPH E. PRIME, Participation in the Conduct of Public Church Services by other Persons than Laymen; GEORGE NYE BOARDMAN, An Attested or a Self-Developed Saviour—Which?; BURNETT THEO. STAFFORD, The Pagan and Christian Meaning of Some Religious Words; CHARLES CAVERNO, The Theistic Christ; HAROLD M. WIENER, "Priests and Levites": the Fourth Chapter of Wellhausen's Prolegomena.

Church Quarterly Review, London, July: King Edward the Seventh; G. C. RICHARDS, Reunion and the Churches of Scandinavia; A. G. B. WEST, Education in Australia; The Modern Conception of the Kingdom of Heaven; Training and Examination of Candidates for Orders; Rating of Tithe Rent Charge Attached to a Benefice; J. P. WHITNEY, Pope Gregory VII and the Hildebrandine Ideal.

The East and The West, London, July: AL GHAZZALI, Moslem Sermon on the Love of God; C. F. ANDREWS, Race within the Christian Church; PROFESSOR HOGG, Presentation of Christ to the Hindu; CHENGTING T. WANG, A Chinese View-point on the Evangelisation of China; AGNES DE SELINCOURT, Indian Women and Indian Nationalism; STANLEY RICE, Conversion of the Indian Sudras; J. N. FARQUHAR, Field Training for Missionaries; W. A. NORTON, South African Native Customs.

Expositor, London, September: ED. KÖNIG, Significance of the Patriarchs in the History of Religion; JAMES ORR, Sin as a Problem To-Day. 8. Sin Original and Actual—The Depraved State; G. WAUCHOPE STEWART, Place of Rewards in the Teaching of Christ; ALEX. R. GORDON, Skinner's "Genesis"; E. H. ASKWITH, Historical Value of Fourth Gospel. 12. Some Objections to the Historicity of the Fourth Gospel Considered; JAMES ROBERTSON CAMERON, The Lamb of God; J. H. MOULTON AND GEORGE MILLIGAN, Lexical Notes from the Papyri.

Harvard Theological Review, Cambridge, July: L. HENRY SCHWAB, Is Christianity a Moral Code or a Religion; RALPH BARTON PERRY, Theories and Beliefs; GEORGE T. KNIGHT, The Definition of the Supernatural; BENJAMIN W. BACON, Jesus as Son of Man; GEORGE E. HERR, Sacerdotalism; ALLAN MARQUAND, Strzygowski and his Theory of Early Christian Art; GEORGE A. COE, New Natural History of Religion.

Hibbert Journal, Boston and London, July: W. M. CHILDS, Woman Suffrage: A Review and a Conclusion; WILLIAM JAMES, A Pluralistic Mystic; JETHRO BROWN, The Message of Anarchy; CARL CLEMEN, Professor Harnack on Acts; LOUIS T. MORE, Metaphysical Tendencies

of Modern Physics; A. K. ROGERS, Mr. Bernard Shaw's Philosophy; E. ARMITAGE, Why Athanasius Won at Nicæa; C. J. WHITBY, Is Punishment a Crime?; BORDEN P. BOWEN, Gains for Religious Thought in the Last Generation.

International Journal of Ethics, Philadelphia, July: FELIX ADLER, The Moral Idea; B. BOSANQUET, Charity Organization and the Majority Report; JAY WILLIAM HUDSON, Classification of Ethical Theories; H. S. SHELTON, Spencer as an Ethical Teacher; F. C. SHARP AND M. C. OTTO, Retribution and Deterrence in the Moral Judgments of Common Sense; CHARLES HUGHES JOHNSTON, Moral Mission of the Public School; NORMAN WILDE, Religion: a Luxury or a Duty?

Irish Theological Quarterly, Dublin and New York, July: W. T. C. SHEPPARD, Kenosis According to St. Luke; H. POPE, The Seed Growing Secretly; J. HENAGHAN, Penal Laws in Ireland during the Reign of Queen Anne; H. KEANE, Christianity from a College Window; E. J. CULLEN, Socialism and the Revolution; J. MACCAFFREY, Lives of the Irish Saints; Decisions of the Biblical Commission.

Journal of Theological Studies, London, July: C. KNETES, Ordination and Matrimony in the Eastern Orthodox Church. II; S. GASELEE, Documents: Two Fayoumic Fragments of the Acts; H. ST. J. THACKERAY, New Light on the Book of Jashar; W. E. BARNES, Peshitta Version of 2 Kings; A. J. WILSON, Emphasis in the New Testament; W. SHERLOCK, Visit of Christ to Nazareth; EB. NESTLE, Some Points in the History of the *textus receptus* of the New Testament; M. R. JAMES, Names of Angels in Anglo-Saxon and Other Documents; W. E. BARNES, Review: Odes of Solomon, by Fleming and Harnack.

London Quarterly Review, London, July: G. G. FINDLAY, Some Features of Last Century; ERIC S. WATERHOUSE, Present Position of Religious Philosophy; T. H. S. ESCOTT, Jonathan Swift in Pulpit and Press; SAMUEL E. KEEBLE, Philosophy and the Movement for Social Reform; C. H. HARING, The Pennsylvania-Germans; HERBERT S. SEEKINGS, Permanent Influence of Newman; J. ALFRED FAULKNER, Luther and the Peasants' War.

Lutheran Church Review, Philadelphia, July: CHARLES M. JACOBS, As Others See Us; J. A. WEYL, How Can We Account for the Spread of the Christian Science Movement?; T. H. DIEHL, Reminiscences of Rev. S. K. Brobst and His Times; J. W. LOCH, On the Present Position of Pentateuchal Criticism; ADOLF HULT, The Pastor and the Confirmed Young Lutheran; H. E. JACOBS, The Ethics of John Gerhard; J. A. W. HAAS, Pauline Doctrine of Conscience in its Meaning for the Evangelical Preacher; H. J. SCHUH, Lutheranism and Civic Morals; C. B. SCHUCHARD, The Individual Communion Cup Question; JOHN C. MATTES, A Study in Exegesis: Parable of the Vineyard; CHARLES M. JACOBS, Christian Education; GEORGE DRACH AND CALVIN F. KUDER, Beginning of Foreign Mission Work in the Lutheran Church in America; WILLIAM C. HEYER, Relation of God to His People in Guidance.

Lutheran Quarterly, Gettysburg, July: JOHN ABERLY, Doctrine of God; JOHN ALFRED FAULKNER, Professor von Dobschutz on Slavery

and Christianity; W. A. LAMBERT, The American Theological Seminary and its Course of Study; DAVID H. BAUSLIN, Genesis of the "New Measure" Movement in the Lutheran Church in this Country; ABDEL ROSS WENTZ, Function and Import of Dogmatics According to Professor Ihmels; H. J. SCHUH, Increasing Contempt for the Blessing of Children.

Methodist Review, New York and Cincinnati, September-October: F. W. WARNE, Some Problems Involved in India's Evangelization; F. J. McCONNELL, Intellectual Frontiersmen; K. P. HARRINGTON, Sample Latin Lyrics by Sixteenth Century Germans; W. A. QUAYLE, The Uncommon Commonplace; HENRY GRAHAM, Solitariness of the Human Soul; A. B. STORMS, Christianity and the Supernatural; FRANK CRANE, Moses, An Interpretation; A. S. WALLS, What is the Unpardonable Sin?

Methodist Review Quarterly, Nashville, July: A. W. WILSON, The Atonement: God's Attitude Toward Sin; GEORGE H. CLARK, Hamlet: The Tragedy of Inaction; GEORGE JACKSON, Problem of Devil Possession in the New Testament; JAMES MUDGE, Montaigne: the Man and the Essays; JOHN A. RICE, The Modern Man's Bible; R. H. BENNETT, Ober Ammergau Passion Play; HENRY N. SNYDER, Religious Value of Bible Study; HENRY F. HARRIS, The Imagination of Jesus; J. O. KNOTT, An Interpretation of the Book of Job; W. P. KING, Fallacies of Ultraism.

Modern Puritan, London, July: A. H. DRYSDALE, John Huss; D. M. McINTYRE, The Minister as a Student; E. K. SIMPSON, Egyptian Papyri and the New Testament; J. D. BURNS, Jerusalem Under the Maccabees.

Monist, Chicago, July: HENRI POINCARÉ, Mathematical Creation; ADOLPH TRENDELENBURG, Contribution to the Word Person; PAUL CARUS, Person and Personality; PHILLIPS BARRY, Psalterin according to Daniel 3:5; BERNHARD PICK, Sayings of Jesus in the Talmud.

Philosophical Review, Lancaster and New York, July: ANDRÉ LALANDE, Philosophy in France in 1909; JOHN E. BOODIN, Nature of Truth; C. V. TOWER, A Non-Dualistic View of Natural Selection.

Reformed Church Review, Lancaster, July: THEO. F. HERMAN, Epistemological Problem of Theology; H. M. J. KLEIN, Charge to Theodore F. Herman; CHARLES T. THWING, A Minister for To-Day; JULIUS HOFMANN, Nature and History; STANLEY L. KREBS, Münsterberg on Paladino; STANLEY L. KREBS, A Woman of Mystery—Solved; A. V. HIESTER, Contemporary Sociology; A. S. WEBER, Contemporary Religious and Theological Thought.

Review and Expositor, Louisville, July: J. A. FAULKNER, First Conflict on the Divinity of Christ; FRANKLIN JOHNSON, New Evangelistic Movement in the German Church; W. E. HENRY, Place of the Resurrection in History; A. E. THOMAS, Value of Christ's Death; W. T. WHITLEY, Seven Churches of London; JOHN T. CHRISTIAN, The Paulician Churches.

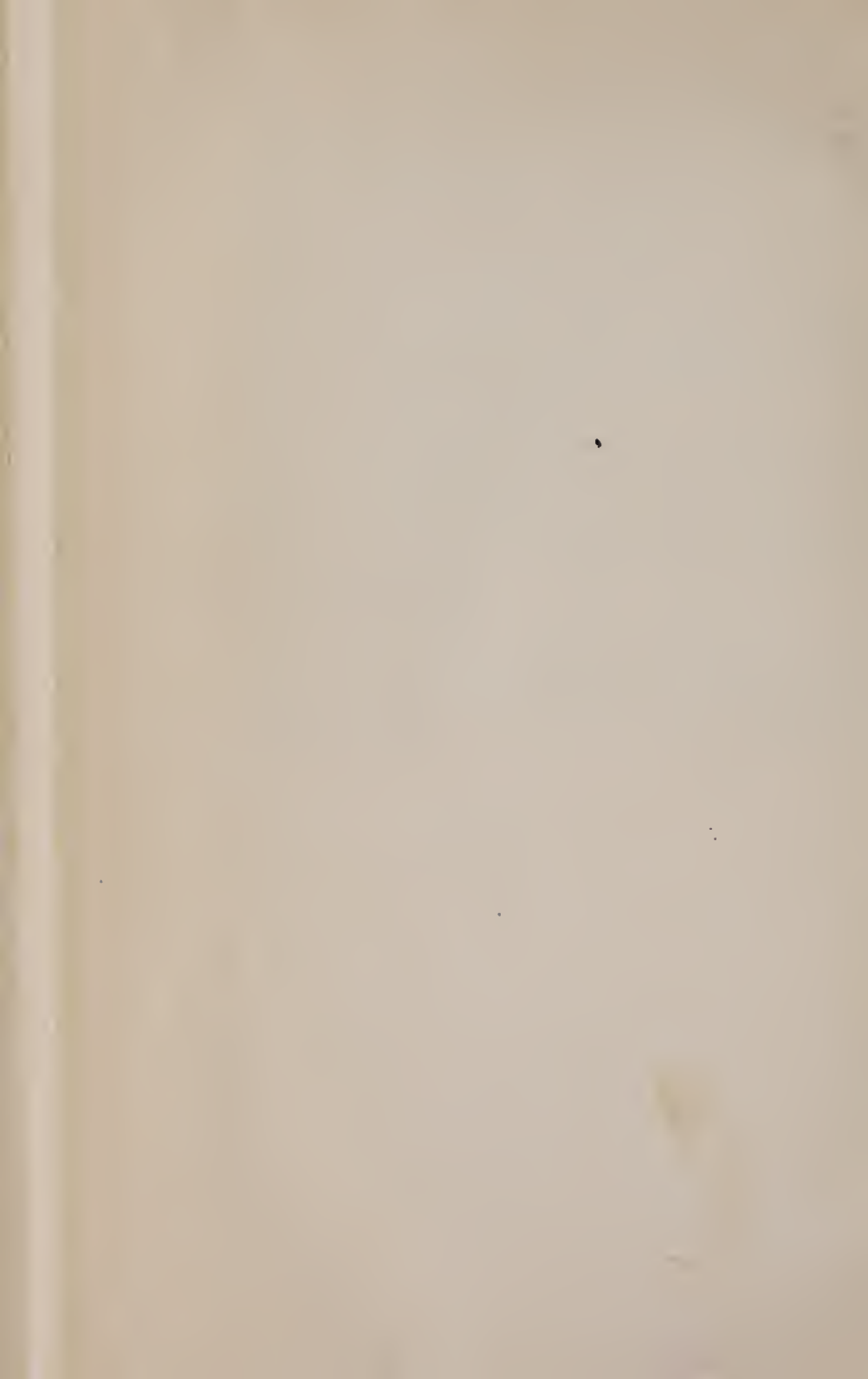
Theological Quarterly, St. Louis, July: Infidelity Taught in American Colleges and Universities; Luther's Morals.

Revue Bénédictine, Paris, Juillet: D. D. DEBRUYNE, Quelques documents nouveaux pour l'histoire du texte africain des Évangiles; D. J. CHAPMAN, The contested Letters of Pope Liberius (suite et fin); D. G. MORIN, Un Commentaire romain sur S. Marc, de la première moitié du Ve siècle; D. I. SCHUSTER, Martyrologium Pharpense, ex apographo Card. Tamburini codicis saeculi XI (suite et fin); J. DE GHELLINCK, La diffusion des oeuvres de Gandulphe de Bologne au moyen âge.

Revue D'Histoire Ecclésiastique, Louvain, Juillet: J. FLAMION, Les actes apocryphes de Pierre (suite, à suivre); C. MOHLBERG, Fragments palimpsestes d'un sacramentaire gélasien de Reichenau; FRÉDÉGAND CALLAËY, Les Idées mystico-politiques d'un franciscan spirituel. Étude sur l'Arbor vitae d'Ubertin de Casale; P. RICHARD, Origines et développement de la Secrétairerie d'État apostolique.

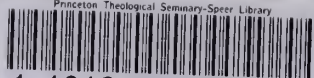
Revue de Théologie et Questions Religieuses, Montauban, Juillet: P. FAREL, Jésus le Christ. Paul l'apôtre (suite et fin); CHARLES CORBIÈRE, Les sanctions d'outre-tombe et le désintéressement moral; S. MONTEIL, A propos de Marc 3:20-21; ANDRÉ ARNAL, De nouveau Marc. 3:21; A. WABNITZ, Le paradis du Hadès; P. FAREL, Exégèse de Galates 1:1-10; C. BRUSTON, Fantaisies exégétiques et critiques; A. WABNITZ, Un psautier judéo-chrétien du premier siècle; C. E. BABUT, Discours et études.

Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie, Innsbruck, XXXIV Band, 3 Heft: R. PAULUS, Die Ablasslehre der Frühscholastik; I. STIGLMAYR, Das Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum (2 Artikel); U. HOLZMEISTER, Enthalten die Verse 1 Kor. 1:14 u. 16 einen Widerspruch?; H. BRUDERS, Allmähliche Einführung lässlicher Sünden in das Bekenntnis der Beicht.





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